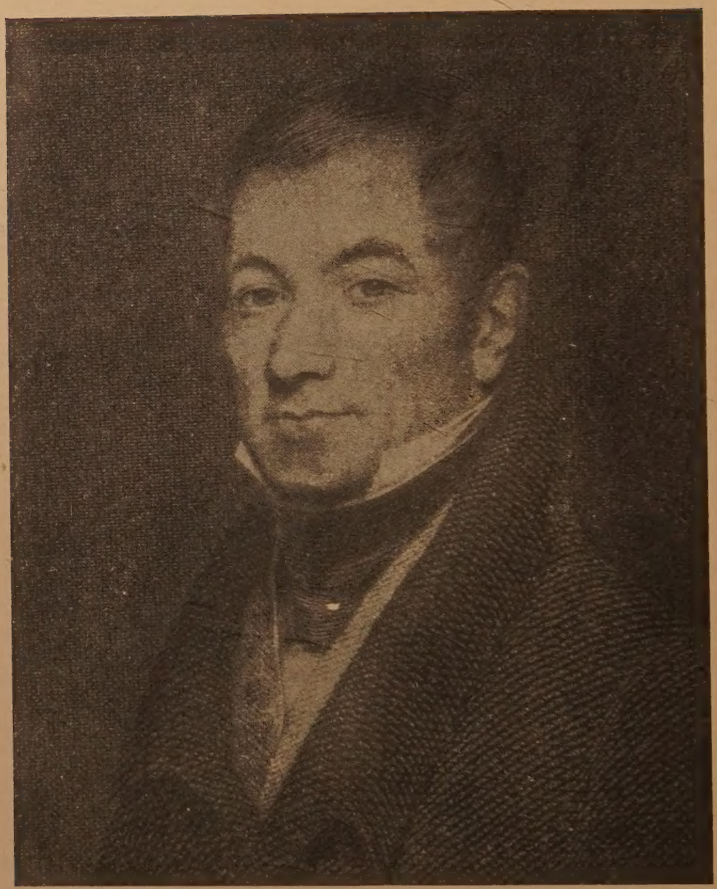
A Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Volume VII



ROBERT OWEN

Father of Industrial Communism in America

(From a portrait in the library of the Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana)

A Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Edited by John R. Commons
Ulrich B. Phillips, Eugene A. Gilmore
Helen L. Sumner, and John B. Andrews

Prepared under the auspices of the American Bureau of Industrial Research, with the co-operation of the Carnegie Institution of Washington

With preface by Richard T. Ely
and introduction by John B. Clark

Volume VII

Labor Movement

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LABOR MOVEMENT
1840-1860

Selected, Collated, and Edited by
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From a portrait in the library of the Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUMES VII AND VIII[1]

There have been in American history three great periods of philosophizing: the period prior to the presidency of Thomas Jefferson, the decade of the forties, and today.

The forties far outran the other periods in its unbounded loquacity. The columns of advertisements in a newspaper might announce for Monday night a meeting of the antislavery society; Tuesday night, the temperance society; Wednesday night, the graham bread society; Thursday night, a phrenological lecture; Friday night, an address against capital punishment; Saturday night, the "Association for Universal Reform." Then there were all the missionary societies, the woman's rights societies, the society for the diffusion of bloomers, the séances of spiritualists, the "associationists," the land reformers – a medley of movements that found the week too short. A dozen colonies of idealists, like the Brook Farm philosophers, went off by themselves to solve the problem of social existence in a big family called a phalanx. The Mormons gathered themselves together to reconstitute the ten lost tribes. Robert Owen called a "world's convention" on short notice, where a dozen different "plans" of social reorganization – individualistic, communistic, incomprehensible –

[1] I am indebted to the editors of the *Political Science Quarterly* for permission to use in this place my article on "Horace Greeley and the Working Class Origins of the Republican Party," vol. xxiv, no. 3. In selecting and editing the documents, I have been assisted by Mr. Wm. M. Leiserson.

were submitted in all solemnity. It was the golden age of the talk-fest, the lyceum, the brotherhood of man—the "hot air" period of American history.

Fifty years before had been an age of talk. Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine had filled the young nation's brain with the inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This second era—the forties—had also its prophet. Horace Greeley was to the social revolution of the forties what Thomas Jefferson was to the political revolution of 1800. He was the *Tribune* of the People, the spokesman of their discontent, the champion of their nostrums. He drew the line only at spirit rappings and free love.

This national palaver was partially checked by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. The spectacle of slave-drivers, slave rescues, and federal marshals at men's doors turned discussion into amazement. The palaver stopped short in 1854 with the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. That law marked off those territorities for a free fight for land between slave-owners and small farmers. On this land issue the Republican Party suddenly appeared. Its members came together by a magic attraction, as crystals appear in a chilled solution. Not one man nor one set of men formed the party, though there are many claimants for the honor of first suggesting the name or calling the first meeting that used the name. It was the fifteen years of revolutionary talk that made the party possible. Men's minds had been unsettled. Visions of a new moral world had come down upon them. Tradition had lost its hold and transition its terrors.

We hear much nowadays of the "economic interpretation of history." Human life is viewed as a struggle to get a living and to get rich. The selfishness of men hustling for food, clothing, shelter, and wealth deter-

mines their religion, their politics, their form of government, their family life, their ideals. Thus economic evolution produces religious, political, domestic, philosophical evolution. All this we may partly concede. But certainly there is something more in history than a blind surge. Men act together because they see together and believe together. An inspiring idea, as well as the next meal, makes history. It is when such an idea coincides with a stage in economic evolution, and the two corroborate each other, that the mass of men begins to move. The crystals then begin to form; evolution quickens into revolution; history reaches one of its crises.

For ideas, like methods of getting a living, have their evolution. The struggle for existence, the elimination of the unfit, the survival of the fit, control these airy exhalations from the mind of man as they control the more substantial framework of his existence. The great man is the man in whose brain the struggling ideas of the age fight for supremacy until the survivors come out adapted to the economic struggle of the time. Judged by this test, Horace Greeley was the prophet of our most momentous period. The evolution of his ideas is the idealistic interpretation of our history.

Greeley's life was itself a struggle through all the economic oppressions of his time. In his boyhood his father had been reduced by the panic of 1819 from the position of small farmer to that of day laborer. The son became an apprentice in a printing office, then a tramp printer; and when he drifted into New York in 1831, he found himself in the midst of the first working men's political party, with its first conscious struggle in America for the rights of labor. Pushing upward as publisher and editor, the panic of 1837 brought him

down near to bankruptcy, but the poverty of the wage-earners about him oppressed him more than his own. "We do not want alms," he heard them say; "we are not beggars; we hate to sit here day by day idle and useless; help us to work—we want no other help; why is it that we can have nothing to do?"[2] Revolting against this social anarchy, as he called it, he espoused socialism and preached protectionism. This was the beginning of his "isms." Not that he had been immune before to cranky notions. When only a boy of thirteen he broke away from the unanimous custom of all classes, ages, and both sexes by resolving never again to drink whisky. When "Doctor" Graham proclaimed vegetarianism in 1831, he forthwith became an inmate of a Graham boarding-house. But these were personal "isms." They bothered nobody else. Not until the long years of industrial suffering that began in 1837 did his "isms" become gospels and his panaceas propaganda. His total abstinence of 1824 became prohibitory legislation in 1850. His vegetarianism of the thirties became abolition of capital punishment in the forties. The crank became the reformer, when once the misery and helplessness of the workers cried aloud to him.

Greeley's "isms" are usually looked upon as the amiable weaknesses of genius. They were really the necessary inquiries and experiments in the beginnings of constructive democracy. Political democracy theretofore had been negative. Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson needed no creative genius to assert equal rights. They needed only to break down special privilege by widening the rights that already existed. Jefferson could frame a bill of rights—he could not construct a constitution. Jackson could kill a "monster" bank—

[2] Greeley, H. *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1868), 145.

he could not invent a people's control of the currency. Negative democracy of Jefferson and Jackson had triumphed. It had done its needful work, but its day was ended when a thousand wild-cat banks scrambled into the bed of the departed monster. Political democracy went bankrupt when the industrial bankruptcy of 1837 exposed its incapacity. It had vindicated equal rights, but where was the bread and butter? The call of the time was for a new democracy—one that should be social and economic rather than political; constructive rather than negative; whose motto should be reform, not repeal; take hold, not *laissez faire*.

But there were no examples or precedents for such a democracy. The inventor of a sewing-machine or the discoverer of a useful chemical compound endures hundreds of failures before his idea works. But his failures are suffered at home. The world does not see them. Only his success is patented. But the social inventor must publish his ideas before he knows whether they will work. He must bring others to his way of thinking before he can even start his experiment. The world is taken into his secret while he is feeling his way. They see his ideas in the "ism" stage. To the negative democrat this brings no discredit; he has no device to offer. To the constructive democrat it brings the stigma of faddism. The conservatives see in him not only the radical, but also the crank with a machine that might possibly work.

Greeley's *Tribune*, prior to 1854, was the first and only great vehicle this country has known for the ideas and experiments of constructive democracy. The fact that the circulation of the newspaper doubled and redoubled beyond anything then known in journalism, and in the face of virulence heaped on ridicule, proves

that the nation, too, was feeling its way toward this new democracy.

Naturally enough, Greeley was a puzzle both to the radicals and to the standpats of his day. The *Working Man's Advocate*[3] said of him:

> If ever there was a nondescript, it is Horace Greeley. One night you may hear him make a patriotic speech at a Repeal[4] meeting. The next day, he will uphold a labor-swindling, paper-money system. . . We should be sorry to be driven to the conclusion that such a man could be actuated only by paltry partyism.

The Abolitionists were incensed when he wrote to the Antislavery Convention at Cincinnati that white slavery in the North claimed his first efforts. The Whigs and protectionists used him, but dreaded him. The New York *Express* charged him with

> Attempting incessantly . . . to excite the prejudices of the poor against the rich, and in the general, to array one class of society against the other. . . We charge the *Tribune* . . . with representing constantly that there is a large amount of suffering arising from want of employment, and that this employment the rich might give. We charge the *Tribune* with over-rating entirely the suffering of the poor . . . all of which tallies with, and is a portion of the very material, which our opponents use to prejudice the poor against the Whigs as a party.[5]

Two years after this attack by the *Express*, the *Courier* read him out of the party:

> There can be no peace in the Whig ranks while the New York *Tribune* is continued to be called Whig. . . The principles of the Whig party are well defined; they are conservative, and inculcate a regard for the laws and support of all the established institutions of the country. They eschew radicalism in every form; they sustain the constitution and the laws; they foster a spirit of patriotism. . . The better way for the *Tribune* would be at once to admit that it is only Whig on the subject of the Tariff . . . and

[3] *Working Man's Advocate*, June 29, 1844, p. 3, col. 4.

[4] Repeal of the Act uniting Ireland with England.—Ed.

[5] Quoted in New York *Tribune*, Aug. 5, 1845, p. 2, col. 2.

then devote itself to the advocacy of Anti-rent, Abolition, Fourierite and Vote-yourself-a-farm doctrines.[6]

These quotations give us the ground of Greeley's "isms"—the elevation of labor by protecting and reorganizing industry. Even the protective tariff, favored by the Whigs, was something different in his hands. The tariff arguments of his boyhood had been capitalistic arguments. Protect capital, their spokesmen said, because wages are too high in this country. Eventually wages will come toward the European level and we shall not need protection. Greeley reversed the plea: protect the wage-earner, he said, in order that he may rise above his present condition of wages slavery. The only way to protect him against the foreign pauper is to protect the price of his product. But, since capital owns and sells his product, we needs must first protect capital. This is unfortunate, and we must help the laborer as soon as possible to own and sell his product himself. "We know right well," he says,[7] "that a protective tariff cannot redress all wrongs. . . The extent of its power to benefit the Laborer is limited by the force and pressure of domestic competition, for which Political Economy has as yet devised no remedy. . . "

Here was a field for his socialism. It would do for domestic competition what protection would do for foreign competition. Protectionism and socialism were the two wheels of Greeley's bicycle. He had not learned to ride on one.

But the socialism which Greeley espoused would not be recognized today. It is now condescendingly spelled "utopism." He felt that the employers were victims

[6] New York *Courier and Enquirer*, Aug. 14, 1847; quoted in *Weekly Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1847, p. 3, col. 5.

[7] *Tribune*, March 27, 1845, p. 2, col. 2.

of domestic competition just as were the laborers, and he assumed that they would be just as glad as the laborers to take something else. What he offered to both was a socialism of class harmony, not one of class struggle.

In the idealistic interpretation of history there are two kinds of idealism – a higher and a lower. Greeley's significance is the struggle of the two in his mind, the elimination of the unfit from each, and the survival and coalescence of the fit in the Republican Party. The higher idealism came to him through the transcendental philosophers of his time. The lower came from the working classes. The higher idealism was humanitarian, harmonizing, persuasive. The lower was class-conscious, aggressive, coercive. The higher was a plea for justice; the lower a demand for rights. In 1840, Greeley was a higher idealist. In 1847, he had shaved down the higher and dovetailed in the lower. In 1854, the Republican Party built both into a platform.

Let us see the origins of these two levels of idealism before they came to Greeley.

Boston we are told, is not a place – it is a state of mind. But every place has its state of mind. The American pioneer, in his frontier cabin, in the rare moments which his battle with gigantic Nature leaves free for reflection, contemplates himself as a trifle in a succession of accidents. To him comes the revivalist, with his faith in a God of power and justice, and the pioneer enters upon a state of mind that constructs order out of accident and unites him with the almighty Ruler of Nature. This was the state of mind of Boston when Boston was Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Colony.

But Massachusetts grew in wealth. Wealth is merely Nature subdued to man. Capital is the forces of Nature taking orders from property-owners. God is no longer appreciated as an ally for helpless man. The

revivalist becomes the priest and the protector of capital.

Now a new contest begins. Capital requires labor to utilize it. Labor depends on capital for a living. The contest is not between man and Nature, but between man and the owner of capitalized Nature. Boston saw the first outbreaks of the struggle in 1825 and 1832. In the former year the house-carpenters, in the latter year the ship-carpenters, determined that no longer would they work from sunrise to sunset. They conspired together and quit in a body. In the former year the capitalists, with Harrison Gray Otis at their head, in the latter year the merchant princes whose ships traversed the globe, took counsel together and published in the papers their ultimatum requiring their workmen to continue as before from dawn to dark.[8] Losing their contention, the workmen again in 1835 began a general strike for the ten-hour day throughout the Boston district, only again to lose. Meanwhile the factory system had grown up at Lowell and other places, with its women and children on duty thirteen and fourteen hours a day, living in company houses, eating at the company table, and required to attend the company church. While some of the ten-hour strikes of 1835 had been successful in Philadelphia and in New York, the working people of New England were doomed for the most part to the long day for another fifteen years.

It was in the midst of this economic struggle that unitarianism and transcendentalism took hold of the clergy. These movements were a revolt against the predicament in which the God of Nature had unwittingly been made the God of Capital. They were a secession back to the God of Man. At first the ideas were transcendental, metaphysical, allegorical, harm-

[8] See vol. v, chap. vii.

less. This was while the working men were aggressive and defiant in their demands and strikes. But, after 1837 and during the seven years of industrial depression and helplessness of the working men following that year of panic, transcendentalism became pragmatic. Its younger spokesmen allied themselves with labor. They tried to get the same experience as manual workers, and to think and feel like them. Brook Farm was the zealous expression in 1842 of this struggle for reality and for actual unity; and after 1843 the Brook Farm representatives began to show up at the newly-organized New England and New York conventions of working men, calling themselves also by the lofty name of "working men" delegates.

But this was not enough. Reality demanded more than unity of sentiment. It demanded reconstruction of society on the principle of unity. At this juncture, 1840, Albert Brisbane came forward with his americanization of Charles Fourier's scheme of social reorganization. Here was a definite plan, patterned on what seemed to be a scientific study of society and of psychology. Brook Farm welcomed it and tried it. Greeley clothed himself with it as gladly as Pilgrim put on the armor after the slough of despond. He opened the columns of the *Tribune* to Brisbane. He became a director of the North American Phalanx, president of the American Union of Associationists, editorial propagandist and platform expounder. Total reorganization of society based on harmony of interest; brotherhood of capital, labor, and ability; substitute for competition which enslaved labor in spite of the natural sympathy of the capitalist for his oppressed workmen; faith in the goodness of human nature if scientifically directed – these were the exalted ideas and naïve assumptions that elicited the devotion of Greeley

and his fellow-disciples of the gospel of transcendentalism.

Two things disabused his mind. One was the actual failure and bankruptcy of his beloved phalanxes; the other was the logic and agitation of the working men. The higher idealism dissolved like a pillar of cloud, but it had led the way to the solid ground of the lower idealism. What were the origins of this lower idealism?

Three years ago, in England at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the company of a working man official of a trade union, I visited the thousand acres of moorland belonging to the medieval city and now kept open as a great playground within the modern city. My trade-union official showed me the thousands of working men and their families enjoying themselves in the open air. I asked him about the fifty or a hundred cows that I saw calmly eating grass in the midst of this public park. He explained that these cattle belonged to the descendants of the ancient freemen of Newcastle, who, in return for defending the town against the Scots, had been granted rights of pasturage outside the town. He said there had recently been a great struggle in Newcastle, when these freemen wanted to enclose the moor, to lease it for cultivation, and to divide the rents among themselves. The working men of the city rose up as one man and stopped this undertaking. But they could not get rid of the cows.

One hundred and thirty years before this time, in the year 1775, Newcastle had seen a similar struggle. At that time the freemen were successful; they succeeded in having the rentals from a part of the moor, which had been enclosed and leased, paid over in equal parts to each of them. Thomas Spence, netmaker, thereupon conceived an idea. He read a paper before the Philosophical Society of Newcastle, proposing that all the

land of England should be leased and the proceeds divided equally among all the people of England. He was promptly expelled from the Philosophical Society. He went to London and published his scheme in a book.[9] In 1829, the book came to New York and furnished the platform for the first working men's political party. This party americanized Spence by amending the Declaration of Independence. They made it read: "All men are equal, and have an inalienable right to life, liberty and property."

George Henry Evans, also Englishman by birth but American by childhood and by apprenticeship in a printing-office at Ithaca, started a paper, the *Working Man's Advocate*, in 1829, and became the thinker of the working men's party. But before he began to think he adopted the motto of the party as the motto of his paper: "All children are entitled to equal education; all adults to equal property; and all mankind to equal privileges." He soon saw his mistake, as did most of the other working men. Every individual has a right to an unlimited amount of that kind of property which he produces by his own labor and without aid from the coerced labor of others. Such an unlimited right is inconsistent with equality, and therefore equal right to property can be asserted only as regards that which is not the product of his own or another's labor, namely, land. But the holders of the existing private property in land could not be displaced without a violent revolution. This Evans saw from the violent attacks made on him and the working men's party. But there was an immense area still belonging to the people and not yet divided. This was the public domain. There man's equal right to land could be asserted. He sent marked copies of his paper to Andrew Jackson in 1832, before

[9] Davidson, J. M. *Four Precursors of Henry George* (London, 1899), 26.

Jackson's message on the sale of the public lands. The working men's party disappeared and was followed by the trades' unions of 1835 and 1836. The sudden rise of prices and the increased cost of living compelled labor to organize and strike throughout the eastern cities, from Washington to Boston. These strikes were for the most part successful; but the workmen saw prices and rents go up and swallow more than the gains achieved by striking. Evans pointed out the reason why their efforts were futile. The working men were bottled up in the cities. Land speculation kept them from taking up vacant land near by or in the west. If they could only get away and take up land, then they would not need to strike. Labor would become scarce. Employers would advance wages and landlords would reduce rents. Not for the sake of those who moved west did Evans advocate freedom of the public lands, but for the sake of those who remained east. This was the idea that he added to the idea of Andrew Jackson and Andrew Johnson. Theirs was the squatter's idea of the public domain – territory to be occupied and defended with a gun, because the occupant was on the ground. His was the idealistic view of the public domain – the natural right of all men to land, just as to sunlight, air, and water. The working men of the east were slaves because their right to land was denied. They were slaves, not to individual masters like the negroes, but to a master class which owned their means of livelihood. Freedom of the public lands would be freedom for the white slave. Even the chattel slave would not be free if slavery were abolished without providing first that each freedman should have land of his own. Freedom of the public lands should be established before slavery is abolished.

These views were not original with Evans. They

were the common property of his fellows, born of their common experience, formulated in their mutual intercourse and expressed in the platforms of their party and the resolutions of their trades' unions. Thus at the first convention of the National Trades' Union, in 1834, one of the resolutions recited, as clearly as Evans did later, the connection between surplus labor and land speculation. But it was Evans, mainly, who gathered these ideas together and framed them into a system. He and his disciple, Lewis Masquerier, worked out the three cardinal points of a natural right: equality, inalienability, individuality. Men have equal rights to land because each man is a unit. This right is inalienable; a man can not sell nor mortgage his natural right to land, nor have it taken away from him for debt, any more than he can sell himself or be imprisoned for debt. This right belongs to the individual as such, not to corporations or associations. Here was his criticism of communism and Fourierism. Establish the individual right to the soil, and then men will be free to go into, or stay out of, communities as they please. "Association" will then be voluntary, not coercive, as Fourierism would make it. Thus did the communistic agrarianism of Thomas Spence and of the Working Men's Party of 1829 filter down into the individualistic idealism of American labor reform in 1844.

When the labor movement broke down with the panic of 1837, Evans retired to a farm in New Jersey, but kept his printing-press. When the labor movement started up again in 1844, he returned to New York and again started his paper, the *Working Man's Advocate*, later changing the name to *Young America*. He and his friends organized a party known as National Reformers, and asked the candidates of all other parties to sign a pledge to vote for a homestead law. If no

candidate signed, they placed their own tickets in the field. They printed pamphlets, one of which, *Vote Yourself a Farm*, was circulated by the hundred thousand. In 1845, they united with the New England Working Men's Association to call a national convention, which, under the name of the Industrial Congress, held sessions from 1845 to 1856. The main plank in the platform of the New England Working Men's Association had been a demand for a ten-hour law; and the two planks, land reform and ten hours for labor, were the platform of the Industrial Congress. Through the New England Association the Brook Farmers and other Fourierists came into the land-reform movement.

It was in the latter part of 1845 that Greeley began to notice the homestead agitation. For the *Tribune* he wrote an editorial beginning with his recollections of the working men's party which he had found fourteen years before when he came to New York. Now, he said, there had come into existence "a new party styled 'National Reformers' composed of like materials and in good part of the same men with the old Working Men's Party." He then describes their scheme of a homestead law and adds his qualified approval.

Evans, in his *Young America*, commented on this editorial, and especially on Greeley's assertion that the reason why the working men's measures had not sooner attracted attention was that they had been put forth under what he called "unpopular auspices." Evans said:

> All reforms are presented under "unpopular auspices," because they are presented by a minority who have wisdom to see and courage to avow the right in the face of unpopularity; and all reforms are pushed ahead by popularity-hunters as soon as the pioneers have cleared the way. I do not mean to class the editor of the *Tribune* amongst the popularity-hunters, but simply to express a truth called forth by his rather equivocal designation of that enlightened and

patriotic body of men who, if the history of this State and Union be ever truly written, will be prominent in it as the "Working Men's Party." [10]

Five months later Greeley definitely committed himself to the working men's platform, and to the reasoning with which they supported it.

> The freedom of the Public Lands to actual settlers, and the limitation of future acquisitions of land to some reasonable amount, are also measures which seem to us vitally necessary to the ultimate emancipation of labor from thraldom and misery. What is mainly wanted is that each man should have an assured chance to earn, and then an assurance of the just fruits of his labors. We must achieve these results yet; we can do it. Every new labor-saving invention is a new argument, an added necessity for it. And, so long as the laboring class must live by working for others, while others are striving to live luxuriously and amass wealth out of the fruits of such labor, so long the abuses and sufferings now complained of must continue to exist or frequently reappear. We must go to the root of the evil.[11]

From the date when Greeley took up the measure it advanced throughout the northern states by rapid bounds. He used precisely the language and arguments of the *Working Man's Advocate*.

The National Reformers and the Industrial Congress had worked out logically three kinds of legislation corresponding to Evans's three cardinal points of man's natural right to the soil. These were land limitation, based on equality; homestead exemption, based on inalienability; freedom of the public lands, based on individuality.

In order that the rights of all might be equal, the right of each must be limited. For the older states it was proposed that land limitation should take effect only on the death of the owner. Land was not to be inherited in larger quantities than one hundred and sixty

[10] *Young America* (New York), Nov. 29, 1845.

[11] *Weekly Tribune*, May 2, 1846, p. 3, col. 3.

or three hundred and twenty acres. Wisconsin was the only state in which this measure got as far as a vote in the legislature, that of 1851, where it was carried in the lower house by majorities on two votes but was defeated on a final vote. The struggle was exciting and Greeley watched it eagerly. Then he wrote:

> Well, this was the first earnest trial to establish a great and salutary principle; it will not be the last. It will yet be carried, and Wisconsin will not need half so many poor houses in 1900 as she would have required if land limitation had never been thought of.[12]

The measure was brought up in the New York legislature and was vigorously advocated by Greeley, but without decisive action.

The second kind of legislation, based on man's natural right to the soil, was homestead exemption. Projects of this class were far more successful than those looking to the limitation of holdings. Exemption legislation swept over all the states, beginning with Wisconsin in 1847,[13] but in mutilated form. The working men demanded absolute inalienability for each homestead, as complete as that of the nobility of Europe for each estate. But the laws actually enacted have not prohibited sale or mortgage of the homestead, as Evans proposed. They have merely prohibited levy and execution on account of debts not secured by mortgage. Voluntary alienation is allowed. Coercive alienation is denied. Greeley and the working men would have disallowed both.

Freedom of the public lands was the third sort of legislation demanded. Every individual not possessed

[12] *Tribune*, March 27, 1851.

[13] The legislation of Texas in 1829 and 1837 was entirely different in character and motive. Somewhat similar laws had been adopted in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida prior to 1845, as a result of the panic of 1837.

of one hundred and sixty acres of land should be free to get his equal share in fee-simple out of the public domain, without cost. The public domain, it was argued, belongs, not to the states nor to the collective people of all the states, nor to the landowners and taxpayers of the states, but to each individual whose natural right has not as yet been satisfied. America is fortunate in having this vast domain unoccupied. Here all the cardinal points of a natural right can be legalized without damaging vested rights: individuality, by private property without cost; equality, by limitation to one hundred and sixty acres; inalienability, by homestead exemption. The universally accepted notion, based on the then rate of migration, that it would require several hundred years to occupy the public domain, gives color to their optimistic expectations of the effect of free land on wages. This was the idealistic vision in 1844 of the Republican Party's first great act in 1862.

Greeley espoused all of these measures. He himself introduced a homestead bill in Congress in 1848. He urged land limitation and homestead exemption upon the state legislatures. The *Tribune* carried his message throughout the north and prepared the mind of the people for the constructive work of the future.

I might speak of others who helped to carry the working men's idealism into republican reality. I will mention only Galusha A. Grow, the "father of the Republican Party," and Alvan E. Bovay, the disciple of Evans.

Galusha Grow's first great speech in Congress, in 1852, on Andrew Johnson's Homestead Bill, was printed by him under the title "Man's Right to the Soil," and was merely an oratorical transcript from the *Working Man's Advocate.*

The other less distinguished father was Alvan E.

Bovay. For him has been claimed the credit of first suggesting to Greeley the name Republican Party, and of bringing together under the name the first little group of men from the Whig, Democratic, and Free Soil Parties at Ripon, Wisconsin, in 1854.[14] Bovay had moved to Wisconsin in 1850. Before that time, as our documents for the first time bring to light, he had been associated with Evans and with the Working Men's Party in New York, almost from its beginning in 1844. He was secretary, treasurer and delegate to the Industrial Congress. It was in New York that he became acquainted with Greeley. Bovay's speeches were reported at length in the *Working Man's Advocate* and *Young America*, and his letters frequently appeared in the *Tribune*. Whether he was the only father of the party or not, it is significant that it was these early views on the natural right to land, derived from Evans and the working men, that appeared in the Republican Party wherever that party sprang into being. It is also an interesting fact that the working men were accustomed to speak of theirs as the true Republican Party; and that Evans, in his paper in 1846, predicts that the National Reformers mark the beginning of the period when there "will be but two parties, the great Republican Party of Progress and the little Tory Party of Holdbacks."[15]

Greeley also took up the ten-hour plank of the Working Men's Party. Prior to 1845, under the influence of Fourierism, he had opposed labor legislation. In 1844 he wrote:

The relations of Labor and Capital present a vast theme, . . .

[14] Curtis, F. *History of the Republican Party* (New York, 1904), vol. i, 173. There were doubtless other spots of independent origin. See A. J. Turner's *Genesis of the Republican Party* (Portage, Wis., 1898), pamphlet.

[15] *Young America*, March 21, 1846, p. 2, col. 3.

Government cannot intermeddle with them without doing great mischief. They are too delicate, complex and vitally important to be trusted to the clumsy handling of raw and shallow legislators. . . The evils . . . are Social, not Political, and are to be reached and corrected by Social remedies. . . Legislation to correct such abuses can seldom do much good and will often do great harm. . .[16]

His idea of the harmony of interests is seen in his hope that employers would reduce the hours of labor by agreement. "We do hope to see this year," he wrote in 1844, "a general convention of those interested in Factory Labor to fix and declare the proper hours of labor, which all shall respect and abide by. . . "[17] And when the first Industrial Congress was about to assemble he wrote:

An Industrial Congress, composed of representatives of Employers and Workmen, in equal numbers, ought to be assembled, to regulate generally the conditions of Labor. . . A general provision, to operate co-extensively with the Union, that ten hours shall constitute a day's work, might be adopted without injury to any and with signal benefit to all. . .[18]

After the Congress he wrote again:

We should, indeed, greatly prefer that a satisfactory adjustment were arrived at without invoking the aid of the law-making power, except possibly in behalf of minors. We believe if the matter is only approached in the right way by those interested, discussed in the proper spirit, and pursued with reasonable earnestness and perseverance that legislation will be found superfluous. . . How many hours shall constitute a day's or a week's work should be settled in each department by a general Council or Congress of all interested therein, whose decision should be morally binding on all and respected by our Courts of Justice.[19]

But, with the failure of the Industrial Congress to bring in the employers, Greeley aggressively adopted

[16] *Tribune*, Jan. 25, 1844, p. 2, col. 1; Feb. 16, 1844, p. 2, col. 2.
[17] *Tribune*, Feb. 16, 1844, p. 2, col. 1.
[18] *Tribune*, Sept. 30, 1845, p. 2, col. 1.
[19] *Weekly Tribune*, Dec. 27, 1845, p. 4, col. 4.

the legislative program of the working men and harmonized it with his theory of the protective tariff. Before this he had written:

If it be possible to interpose the power of the State beneficently in the adjustment of the relations of Rich and Poor, it must be evident that internal and not external measures like the Tariff would be requisite. A Tariff affects the relation of Country with Country and cannot reasonably be expected to make itself potently felt in the relations of class with class or individual with individuals.[20]

Two years afterward, when New Hampshire had adopted the first Ten-hour Law and the employers were violating it, he wrote:

That the owners and agents of factories should see this whole matter in a different light from that it wears to us, we deem unfortunate but not unnatural. It is hard work to convince most men that a change which they think will take five hundred or a thousand dollars out of their pockets respectively is necessary or desirable. We must exercise charity for the infirmities of poor human nature. But we have regretted to see in two or three of the Whig journals of New Hampshire indications of hostility to the Ten-hour regulation, which we can hardly believe dictated by the unbiased judgment of their conductors. . . What show of argument they contain is of the regular Free Trade stripe, and quite out of place in journals favorable to Protection. Complaints of legislative intermeddling with private concerns and engagements, vociferations that Labor can take care of itself and needs no help from legislation – that the law of Supply and Demand will adjust this matter, &c.– properly belong to journals of the opposite school. We protest against their unnatural and ill-omened appearance in journals of the true faith. . . To talk of the Freedom of Labor, the policy of leaving it to make its own bargains, &c. when the fact is that a man who has a family to support and a house hired for the year is told, 'If you will work thirteen hours per day, or as many as we think fit, you can stay, if not, you can have your walking papers; and well you know that no one else hereabout will hire you' – is it not the most egregious flummery? [21]

[20] *Weekly Tribune*, Aug. 2, 1845, p. 3, col. 1.

[21] *Weekly Tribune*, Sept. 18, 1847, p. 5, col. 2.

These and other quotations from Greeley in volumes vii and viii depict the evolution of the theory of the protective tariff out of the Whig theory into the Republican theory. The Whig idea was protection for the sake of capital. Greeley's idea was protection for the sake of labor. The Whigs did not approve of Greeley, but his theory was useful in 1840, and in that year they hired him to get out campaign literature. At that time he was a higher idealist, a transcendentalist, a zealot for harmony of interests, and believed that capitalists would voluntarily coöperate with labor and need not be coerced by legislation. He was disabused of this notion when he saw the way in which employers treated the ten-hour movement. Whatever the working men had gained on this point they had gained against the Whigs, through Jackson, Van Buren, and the Democrats. Modifying his faith in harmony of interests, he took up legislation in behalf of class interests and rounded out a theory of labor legislation by the states to supplement protective tariff legislation by Congress. This became the Republican theory of protection in place of the dying Whig theory.

Thus have I sketched the origin and evolution of the two species of idealism as they appear here in our documents and as they struggled for existence in this epoch of American history. This biology of ideas exhibits both an adaptation to and a rejection of the contemporaneous economic development. The transcendentalism of New England, with its humanized God and its deified man, was rather a protest against the new economic conditions than a product of them. As the years advanced and industrial anarchy deepened, the protest turned to reconstruction. But the tools and materials for the new structure were not politics and legislation, but an idealized, transcendental working man. Transcendentalism res-

urrected man, but not the real man. It remained for the latter, the man in the struggle, to find his own way out. By failure and success, by defeat, by victory often fruitless, he felt along the line of obstacles for the point of least resistance. But he, too, needed a philosophy – not one that would idealize him, but one that would help him to win a victory. Shorter hours of labor, freedom to escape from economic oppression, these were the needs that he felt. His inalienable "natural right" to life, liberty, land, and the products of his own labor – this was his philosophy. Politics and legislation were his instruments.

It is easy to show that "natural rights" are a myth, but they are, nevertheless, a fact of history. It was the working men's doctrine of natural rights that enabled the squatter to find an idealistic justification for seizing land and holding it in defiance of law. "Natural right," here as elsewhere, was the effective assailant of legal right. Had it not been for this theoretic setting, our land legislation might have been piecemeal and opportunist like the English – merely a temporizing concession to the squatters on account of the difficulty of subduing them by armed force. Such an opportunist view, without the justification of natural rights, could not have aroused enthusiasm nor created a popular movement nor furnished a platform for a political party. The Republican Party was not an antislavery party. It was a homestead party. On this point its position was identical with that of the working men. Just because slavery could not live on one-hundred-sixty-acre farms did the Republican Party come into conflict with slavery.

Thus has the idealism of American history both issued from and counteracted its materialism. The editorial columns of the *Tribune* from 1841 to 1854 are its

documentary records. There we see the two main currents of idealism passing through the mind of Greeley and coming out a constructive program for the reorganization of society.

But, from the standpoint of the actual laborer, in his need of leisure and wages, idealism, whether high or low, is too remote. Even legislation shortening the hours of labor proved hopeless in face of the trickery of politics and the crudity of bill-drafting. Not until another generation had passed did labor legislation begin appreciably to affect the condition of labor. But the wage-earners of the forties, like the wage-earners before and since, could not wait upon the deliberations of philosophy or the windings of politics. Wages, hours of labor, and cost of living are immediate facts and require urgent attention. It could not be expected, even were such facts appreciated, that such attention would be devoted, by humanitarians and politicians. The working men perforce resorted to measures independent of reliance on others. The strikes of 1843, at the brief revival of business, attest their unphilosophical mode of reform. Afterward, when business sagged and strikes failed, they resorted to coöperation. At first criticized as partial and superficial by associationists and by land reformers, the remarkable coöperative movement in New England, under the name of Protective Unions, ultimately secured their endorsement. In fact, to Greeley's eager and practical mind, coöperation, initiated and managed by workmen themselves, was the finest fruit of Fourierism. It seemed to assure the independence of labor without hostility to capital. And this was true even when coöperation advanced from the distributive form, designed to supplant the retail merchant, to the productive form, designed to displace the employer. This curious transition in the labor

movement reached its height in 1850, in the industrial councils and working men's congresses of New York, Boston, and Pittsburgh. The labor organizations of that date combined productive coöperation and strikes as the two equally effective modes of attack on employers. If not successful by means of strikes they would become their own employers by means of coöperation. Utterly unsuccessful in this distracting program, the movement disappeared in 1851, and it was not until 1853 that trade unionism took on its modern form and policies. Forced again by a rise of prices and cost of living to get immediate results, the working men broke away from the beneficial and coöperative side-shows of the preceding ten years. In order to get and retain an advance in wages they now began also to demand the recognition of their unions, and for the first time we find as much importance attached to the minimum wage, the "closed shop," the ratio of apprentices, the secrecy of proceedings, as was attached to shorter hours and higher pay.

This marks the turning-point of the labor movement, just as the Fugitive Slave Law and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill marked the turning-point of the political movement. The era of talk gave way to the era of action. The struggle of the small farmer against the plantation slave-owner was parallel with the struggle of organized labor against organized capital. In the one case it was an "irrepressible conflict" ending only in the arbitrament of war. In the other, it is the rising menace of western civilization. In both cases the philosophizing of the forties prepared the minds of men for a new level of action. The right of labor to organize for defense or aggression came finally to be as fully accepted in 1853 as it has been at any time thereafter. And this has deep significance. For, social struggle is not precipitated

by the fundamental economic or moral issue at stake, but rather by the methods and strategic positions that opposing social classes adopt and occupy in order afterward to dominate the fundamental issue. Thus it was that the political crisis and the Civil War occurred, not on the question of the existence or nonexistence of slavery nor on that of the enactment of a homestead law, but on the right of the slave power to extend and strengthen its organization. So the struggle of capital and labor since the decade of the forties has not occurred on the right to organize and strike, but on the right to use the weapons of struggle and to extend the control of organization. Prior to that time labor organizations trusted to the moral effect of a strike and an appeal to the public to preserve the victory. Since that time they more and more rely on the preservation of the union with its weapons of limited apprenticeship, closed shop, minimum wage, and the like.

Horace Greeley was as truly the prophet of this higher labor movement as he was the prophet of the political movement. His crude idea of an Industrial Congress in 1844, to be composed equally of employers and workmen, had evolved in 1853 into the modern idea of the joint trade-agreement of the trade union and the employers' association. Not the domination of one class and the submission of another, but the equilibrium of two classes through their own representative government and rules of procedure, was the burden of his message to both employer and laborer. And may it not be that the struggle of capital and labor, unlike that of plantation and homestead, shall avoid the irrepressible conflict by accepting this high ideal of the joint trade-agreement as it emerged from the philosophizing of the forties?

JOHN R. COMMONS.

I

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

1. GENERAL VIEW[22]

(a) BY AN ENGLISH OWENITE

New Moral World (London), Jan. 20, 27, April 20, June 29, July 6, 1844. "Notes of Travel in the United States," by John Finch. The writer was an adherent of Robert Owen's, and published these and several articles on American communities in Owen's paper. His visit to America was made in 1843.

[January 20] . . . It is much easier to obtain employment, at present, in the United States than in England; but in this respect they are getting into a worse and worse condition. The manufacturers, in the East, have introduced all our improvements in machinery, (and the effects are the same as in this country) they are making very large quantities of goods; competition is increasing, prices are very much reduced, and the wages of labour, generally, throughout the States and Canada, have been reduced from thirty to fifty per cent within the last four years, and wages are still reducing in some parts of the country, in spite of their trades' unions and democratic institutions; and, if competition continue, no parties can prevent wages from falling as low there as they are in England, and this within a comparatively short period. Wages in America are not much higher, even now, than they are with us. Agricultural labourers can be hired, in Illinois and other states, for from eight to twelve dollars per month. Smiths and mechanics for from twelve to eighteen dollars per month, with board. The boarding of labourers of all kinds is almost universal in the small towns and villages in the agricultural districts. They think nothing of board

[22] See also especially chapters iv and v.

and lodging in the west; it can be found them well for from $1 to $1.50, or 4s. to 6s. per week. At Baltimore iron works the labourers earn about 2s. 8d. per day, and the head men, at the furnaces, get about $1, or 4s. per day. In Pittsburg the wages of the labourers, at the iron works, is about the same. A few of the principal workmen, at the iron works, earn as much as $2 per day. At the founderies and engineering establishments, at Paterson, near New York, the average wages of labour throughout the works is only about 4s. 6d. per day now; and this may be taken as a fair average of the wages of engineers [machinists] and founders, in the eastern cities; great numbers were out of employ when I landed, in May last; but the trade is much better, and very few are out of work now. In the great lead district of Galena there are about 40 smelt works, and first-rate smelters earn 25s. per week; second-rate smelters, 18s. per week; labourers at the smelt works, 16s. per week, and carters, 15s. per week, all without board; but wages are paid in Galena with cash, not in truck, as in most places. The miners were getting 5s. 8d. per 112 lbs. for their lead ore, and pig lead was selling at 9s. 6d. per cwt., 112 lbs. The wages of labour was double what it is now, in Galena, in 1838. Great quantities of sale shoes and boots are made in and about Salem, in Massachusetts; the workmen can earn only about 16s. per week; and the shoes are sold as cheap as sale shoes are sold in England. Tailors generally get good wages, but they are not usually well employed; their wages are about 6s. per day. Bricklayers, stonemasons, and plasterers earn as much as tailors. This will give some idea of the rate of wages.

The price of fuel, and the rents of houses for labourers are very high in all the eastern states; food is also much higher there than in the west. It is highest at

Boston and New York, but even there, food is from 25 to 50 per cent cheaper than in Liverpool. Rents are high in all parts of the Union, and clothing is higher than it is with us. Wood fuel can be had for merely the expense of cutting and preparing in most parts of the west. On the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi the steam-boats are supplied at from 4s. to 6s. per cord of 8 feet by 4 feet, and 4 feet high, and coals can be had at Pittsburg, and on the Ohio, for less than 5s. per ton. Pork, beef, and mutton are bought in Indiana, Illinois, and other western states, at from 1d. to 1½d. per lb. Our friend C. F. Green, killed a cow in New Harmony while we were there, and he could scarcely sell it at that price, on credit. A whole carcass of good mutton sells there for a dollar, eggs are sold at 2d. per dozen, good fowls at 4s. per dozen, butter at 3d. to 4d. per lb., Indian corn 7d. to 10d. per bushel, wheat at $.50 to $.60 or 2s. to 2s. 6d. per bushel. Most of these articles are more than double these prices in the eastern states, owing to their not growing enough for themselves, and the expense of carriage from the far west. Apples, pears, peaches, &c., are very plentiful and very cheap in the west. We saw whole orchards of fine apples in Indiana and Kentucky rotting on the trees, not being considered worth the expense of gathering. The same evil exists in the western states of America, as respects agricultural produce, as we find in England as to manufactured goods; excessive competition, and consequent reductions in wages, have driven so many from the eastern states, to cultivate land in the west, added to the shoals of emigrants daily arriving from other countries, that the produce is so abundant, it can scarcely be sold for the expense of taking it fifty miles to a market, and prices will still go lower and lower as more and more land is brought into cultivation, till the man who cultivates

his own land will not be able to get a living, as is now the case with our friend C. F. Green, with a most beautiful and fertile farm of 140 acres freehold.

One of the greatest evils the working classes have to contend with in the United States and in Canada, for it is generally practised in both countries, is the abominable cheating truck system, which is carried on with more barefaced impudence there, and to a greater extent than it ever was practised in this country. The following is a verbatim copy of a printed notice given by Ben. Cozzens, a large manufacturer, who has two large cotton factories and a print work, and employs from a thousand to fifteen hundred pair of hands, at Crompton mills in Rhode Island. Single men at board, who cannot take goods, have ten per cent deducted from their wages in lieu of it.

NOTICE. Those employed at these mills and works will take notice, that a store is kept for their accommodation, where they can purchase the best of goods at fair prices, and it is expected that all will draw their goods from said store. Those who do not are informed, that there are plenty of others who would be glad to take their places at less wages. BENJ. COZZENS.
Crompton Mills, February, 1843.

One of the printed notices, from which this was copied, was put into my hands by a man who lately worked for Benjamin Cozzens, and who has returned home, tired of America, in the Roscius. Five colliers returned home by the same vessel, who had been working at Pittsville, in Pennsylvania, where the same vile truck system is carried on to the greatest extent. They declared that when their American wages were turned into cash, they could earn as much, and were as well off, in their own country. I know the general prevalence of this system, by information from masters as well as men. The average of loss to the workmen by this sys-

tem is not less than twenty-five per cent of their wages, and in many cases it is attended with a loss of fifty per cent. When masters have no shops of their own, they give notes to the men to get their goods at other shops, who supply them with inferior articles at high prices, and out of the money the workmen are cheated of, they allow a per centage to the master. In many places the shopkeepers will not give flour and groceries for these notes; they tell them these are cash articles only, in which case the men are compelled to take other goods which they do not want, and then have to submit to a still greater loss in disposing of them for cash to get absolute necessaries. At Shreeve's iron and nail works, in Cincinnati, and at other cut nail works, the workmen are paid in casks of cut nails, charged at high prices, by which they lose at least twenty-five per cent in all they receive. When I told the masters that we have severe laws against this infamous practice; they replied, "Here we do as we like; ours is a free country." Yes, America is as free for working men as England, for in both countries, when trade is bad, the workmen must labour on such terms as are offered, or go without employment and starve. The condition of the working classes in America, however, is much better at present than it is here; but my conviction, from all I have seen and heard in America, is, that the wages of labour are everywhere falling, and that the condition of the labourer is gradually becoming worse. . .

[January 27] . . . In judging of their condition, you must take into account the length and severity of their winters, and the excessive heat of their summers, in the northern states and in Canada. Their winters commence in November, and continue till the end of April – about six months in the year – during which period all building operations, and all agricultural em-

ployments, except the felling of timber and preparing fuel, are suspended; and, being all frozen up, navigation on their rivers and canals, and all employments dependent on these, are stopped, and many other employments, depending on water power, are also stopped; the cold is so excessive that the thermometer is frequently twenty degrees below zero; they are obliged to keep large fires in their dwellings, and to have a large quantity of extra warm clothing to prevent them from perishing; it is often dangerous to go out of doors for any length of time, in winter, without completely covering every part of the body; parties sometimes have their nose, or some other part of their face, frozen, without being aware of it themselves; a friend meets them, and tells them that they are frozen, the remedy is immediately to rub the part affected with snow, which restores it; but many perish from cold, particularly the blacks in Canada. As goods cannot be brought to the ports, commerce is also in a great degree prevented. The consequence is, that unless workmen get good wages and plenty of work in summer, to enable them to lay in a good supply for winter; their condition is and must be much more wretched than the labourers in England. Indeed, for several winters past, and especially last winter, great numbers out of employment in Boston, Salem, Providence, New York, and other places, were supplied with soup, bread, fuel, and other articles, by charitable contributions. Most of the log houses in the west appear to me miserable shelters, either for man or beast, during their rigorous winters, but they have abundance of wood fuel there to keep them warm for the trouble of getting it.

In the middle of summer, on the contrary, the weather is so excessively hot, (frequently ninety to a hundred degrees), that it is very difficult to do a day's work at

hard labour, beside which, in the western states, you are much annoyed by the bite of mosquitoes, and, in those parts, fever and ague are very prevalent in summer. Imagine a settler, in the west, on his own farm of one hundred acres, situated four miles distant from any other dwelling, and fifty miles from a market for his produce, living in the middle of a forest, in a log cabin of his own construction, and with the exception of a few acres, which he has prepared for Indian corn and wheat, for the support of himself and family and cattle, all around him impenetrable thicket and lumber. His land is very fertile without the use of manure, and he has had good crops this year, he has provided all the food he requires for his cattle and his family, and he has 30 bushels of wheat and 70 lbs. of butter, surplus, to dispose of, to buy iron for his ploughs, and clothing and other articles for his family, consisting of himself his wife and three children. He lives in Illinois, and sets out for Chicago with his wagon, yoke of oxen, and his load of produce, over a bad road, and the journey, sale, and purchase, takes him eight days; he takes with him food for himself and oxen, which reduces his expenses to $.50 per day, which is $4; his wages are worth $4 more; he has the good fortune to sell his wheat at $.50 per bushel, cash, which is $15, and the butter for $.08 per lb., which is $5.60; the whole is $20.60, for all his year's surplus produce, or £4 5s. 6d. English; take from this 16s. 8d., expenses, and 20s. for 1 cwt. assorted iron, he has no poor-rates, tithes, taxes, church-rates, or rent, to pay, except about 2s. 6d. for land tax, and yet he has only £2 6s. 4d. left to buy clothing for himself and family, for the rigours of an American winter, and for all other family expenses. Should he and his family fall sick, there is no neighbour within four miles, and, probably, no physician within 20 miles of

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him. I believe great numbers of bush-settlers perish, whose fate is never generally known, and yet great numbers of Yankees, in the eastern states, when I showed them that the condition of their labourers was rapidly getting worse, replied—"There is no danger that the condition of our labourers will ever be so bad as that of the labourers of England; they have always a resource, by leaving the eastern states, and purchasing land in the west, at $1. 25 per acre; they can cultivate this land, get a good living, and, in a few years, become independent." I have already shown the fallacy of this argument, but we will give another illustration.

I was talking with some of the workmen, spinners, in the largest jean manufactory in Steubenville, in the state of Ohio, who were telling me of the recent reductions in their wages, and of the rascally truck system, which is universally practised in that town and neighborhood—the workmen are generally paid by notes on the shops, by which they lose at least 25 per cent, in price and quality; but, they are frequently paid in pieces of jean of their own make, charged at high prices, by which they often lose 50 per cent, which reduces their actual wages to about 2s. per day, English money. I asked why they submitted to these impositions, why they did not leave it and go to the land, &c. They replied—"The land in Ohio is dear, generally, and we could not travel to the west without money, and we cannot save money; it is as much as we can do to provide our families with necessaries. We should want money to travel, then money would be wanted to buy the land, to buy agricultural implements, to buy seed, and then we should want more to support us till we could dispose of part of our crops, and we have no money at all. But, suppose we had all these means, we know nothing about the cultivation of land—we have all our lives

worked in a factory, and know no other employment, and how is it likely that we should succeed? besides which, we have always been used to live in a town, where we can get what little things we want if we have money, and it is only those who have lived in the wilderness, who know what the horrors of a wilderness-life are."

From what has been said it must be evident to our readers: First. That the wages of labour are everywhere falling in the United States and in Canada, and that the condition of the working population is getting worse and worse, in spite of their high protective duties upon foreign goods, and every other means they have adopted to prevent these reductions.

Second. That the vile truck system is carried on in these countries to a greater extent than it was ever practised in our own, in spite of annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot.

Third. That going upon the land, on the most favourable terms, under a system of society based upon competition, would afford no remedy for these evils, but would in the end only increase them, even though there were neither rent, tithes, nor taxes to be paid.

Fourth. That American labourers, being necessarily idle nearly half the year, during the winter, ought to receive double our English wages in summer, to place them on equal terms with English labourers, which is not the case, as their wages are nominally very little higher than they are here. The only advantages they have are more employment, freedom from taxes, and the cheapness of provisions. But we have seen that even the cheapness of food is a great injury to the mass of the people, the agricultural population.

Fifth. That the causes of those evils are the same in America as in England, the vast extension of scientific and mechanical power, and the consequent great in-

crease of manufactured goods, and the great and rapid extension of agricultural operations; by which means an immense surplus is produced, whilst competition reduces everything to so low a price that no parties are able to get a remuneration for producing them; and that all that is wanted, either in America or in England, is, rational arrangements to distribute the wealth produced in a just and equitable manner for the benefit of all classes. . .

[April 20. Speaking of the mineral resources]. . . Now I put to the smallest grain of wit that may be contained in the cranium of the most thick-headed dunce in existence, whether there is the least probability, that an educated, intelligent, enterprising, and industrious people, (as the Americans undeniably are,) will, any longer than they can possibly help it, suffer this incalculable amount of wealth to be buried in the earth, and supply themselves with the same articles from a country that altogether excludes their principal surplus article—corn; that taxes their tobacco from the south 1000 per cent, their mutton, beef, and pork of the Western States 100, and butter and cheese 50 per cent.

These restrictions upon their trade in England, have produced in every part of the United States (even at a present sacrifice to themselves in price) a fixed determination to do without British goods of every kind as soon as possible, and in the mean time, by laying a heavy duty upon all imported articles, to give every encouragement to their own mining and manufacturing operations. They already make two-thirds as much lead as is made in Great Britain, in the neighbourhoods of Galena, Dubuque, and St. Genevieve on the Mississippi alone, and they have lead mines in other States to some extent—and they can now produce lead at least 10 to 20 per cent cheaper than it can be made for in this country.

Their anthracite coal mines produce one million tons, and their bituminous coal mines considerably more than one million tons of coals annually. Their copper mines are fast extending, but at present the quantity produced is inadequate to the demand. The quantity of iron now made in the United States is not much less than 500,000 tons annually, and is continually increasing; it is made principally by the use of charcoal fuel, which greatly improves its quality. In a very few years they will not only make all they require, but have a large surplus. Salt is made in very large quantities in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and other States; this manufacture will also soon supersede the use of the foreign article.

Machine making is carried on on a very extensive scale in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and other States in that part of the Union, and also in Pittsburg and other places, for the use of the factories. The manufacture of steam engines, water wheels, and machinery for saw mills and other purposes, is very extensive in and near Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg, and there are large establishments of these kinds in many other places that I visited. American boiler plates are used, exclusive of all other, for making their engine boilers, &c., and are superior in quality to most, and inferior to none, that are made in England. The quantity of cut nails made there exceeds anything I could have supposed; most of their buildings, even their churches, being of wood. Many of the iron manufacturers work up the whole of what they produce into cut nails on the spot. A rolling mill at Boston, another at Reading in Pennsylvania, and a third at Cincinnati, which I saw, each makes from fifty to sixty tons of cut nails weekly, besides many others that I heard of. Till within the last three years, a large quantity of Swedish iron was imported for cut nail making; this trade is now

at an end, as they use none but their own iron. Some idea may be formed of the extent of their engineering business, from the fact of their having about 400 steam boats on the waters of the Mississippi, and more than 60 on the large lakes alone. These steam boats wear out every four years, and their double engines in eight years, so that it requires 100 steam boats and 100 engines to be made every year to meet the demand, which is every year increasing; besides which, there are great numbers of steamers employed in the coasting trade, and on the Hudson and other rivers. Locomotive engines are made there for their 7,000 miles of railroad, and steam engines are used for a hundred other purposes. All their superior kind of locks are made at home. Their axes for cutting down timber, joiners' edge tools, wood screws, scythes, and many other articles in the cutlery trade, are superior to any that are made in England. All these articles are made there in very large quantities, and are bought by workmen in preference to English, at 50 per cent higher prices, both in the States and in Canada. I saw some beautiful articles of these kinds in various places, and compared them with the best they can get from England, which were much inferior.

The fact is we have been too proud of our machinery and improvements, and besides this have been continually striving to make cheap, instead of making good and useful articles; and to effect this object, have been constantly reducing wages and adding to the labour of our operatives, till we are starving our workmen to death, and losing our character abroad altogether. Whilst at the same time our rulers, from the most selfish motives, have doubled the evil by levying enormous duties upon their greatest surplus articles.

This vicious system of competition and class legislation, based on their great parent evil, private property, must come to an end speedily. Free Trade, in all articles with all the world, may, if adopted, prop it up a little longer. Free Trade is right in principle, and must be beneficial in practice – therefore let us have Free Trade as soon as possible. But let no one deceive himself by supposing that this measure will remove the incurable diseases of our present social system, for as long as the causes of the misery and degradation of our working classes remain, the effects will not cease.

[June 29] . . . In England, capital is superabundant among the wealthy classes, and yet, both in and out of parliament, the general cause of distress and want of work is stated to be over-population, and the great panacea recommended is emigration. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Upper Canada, Lower Canada, and the United States, on the contrary, the cause of their difficulties, and the want of greater prosperity, is attributed to deficiency of capital and want of population. Converse with whom you will in America, they will tell you of the great resources and numerous means of acquiring wealth these countries afford: "Only," say they, "send us any number you please of good workmen, sober, steady, with a little capital, prudent, and industrious, and we will engage they will soon become rich in this country; but these are not the sort of persons you generally send us; instead of these, there come out a set of ragged, pennyless, shiftless, helpless, drunken creatures, that know how to do scarcely anything, and consequently cannot get employed, and become paupers; and these are almost the only paupers we have, and almost the only drunkards; for you will scarcely ever see a native American that is either a pauper or a drunk-

ard." And I believe there is a great deal of truth in this statement, from what I have seen of thousands of emigrants just arrived in those countries.

It is a curious fact, that the democratic party, and particularly the poorer class of Irish emigrants in America, are greater enemies to the negro population, and greater advocates for the continuance of negro slavery, than any portion of the population in the free States. I endeavoured to ascertain the cause of this strange anomaly, and was informed, that ten or twelve years ago, the most menial employments, such as scavengers, porters, dock-labourers, waiters at hotels, ostlers, boot-cleaners, barbers, &c., were all, or nearly all, black men, and nearly all the maid servants, cooks, scullions, washerwomen, &c., were black women, and they used to obtain very good wages for these employments; but so great has been the influx of unskilled labourers, emigrants from Ireland, England, and other countries, within the last few years, into New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and other large towns in the eastern States, who press into these menial employments (because they can find no other), offering to labour for any wages they can obtain; that it has reduced the wages of the blacks, and deprived great numbers of them of employment, hence there is a deadly hatred engendered between them, and quarrels and fights among them are daily occurring. I found most of the waiters and female servants at the large hotels in the eastern States white persons, whereas in most hotels in the west, and all the hotels in the slave States, these persons were blacks. The working people reason thus: "Competition among free white working men here is even now reducing our wages daily; but if the blacks were to be emancipated, probably hundreds of thousands of them would migrate into these northern States, and the competition for em-

ployment would consequently be so much increased, that wages would very speedily be as low, or lower here, than they are in England; better, therefore, for us, that they remain slaves as they are." Hence we see why the American abolitionists of slavery are more unpopular among these parties in America, than Socialists are among the priests and upper classes in England – hence we see why the repeal association in Cincinnati wrote to O'Connell in defence of slavery, and why many repeal associations in the United States, particularly in the south, broke up and refused to give any more assistance to the repealers in Ireland, after receiving his denunciations of that accursed system. "Man is the creature of circumstances," and all these parties act in this manner, because they live in a state of society based on private property and individual interests, each seeking his own advantage, regardless of the just rights of others.

For persons well skilled in agriculture, with a little capital, (and much less will do in America than in England), men who are not prejudiced, but willing to learn, and to follow the modes of culture there adopted, which are altogether different from English farming, will succeed much better either in Canada or the United States than they can possibly do in England. Good workmen at any handicraft, mechanical or manufacturing operations, particularly if they can turn their hands to a variety of operations connected with their business, with good moral character and sober habits, will be sure to meet with encouragement as soon as they are known. These should also have some money, as this will open to them many opportunities of doing well for themselves in that country, and if they fail to get employment in their own business, will enable them to go upon the land. I would not, by any means, advise shopkeepers, shopmen, clerks, book-keepers, gentle-

men's servants, or unskilled labourers of any kind, to go to America, expecting to get a living by these callings or by common labour, unless they are desirous of competing with the blacks – these employments are despised by the American people. Nor need any gentlemen-farmers go there, expecting to get rich by the hired labour of others. The American farmer that expects to thrive, must either hold the plow or drive. Nor is this a country for gentlemen of large fortune to go to, to live upon their incomes, and to make a grand display, because all such fooleries are only laughed at by the commonest mechanic in New England. The only way they can really enjoy themselves, and be attentively and respectfully waited upon in the free States, is by taking private rooms at a large hotel – there they will receive every respect due to men of rank, so long as they behave themselves properly; but they must not show their airs, scold, and insult the white men and maid servants as they do in England, or they will soon let them know that they are speaking to free-born American citizens. And if they wish to travel, they cannot do better than content themselves with the railroads, steam boats, and stage-coaches of the country, which are cheap and good enough for anybody. In travelling they must not expect that lords and baronets will meet with half as much respect as the wives and daughters of respectable mechanics and farmers. The only parts where aristocracy can show its fantastic airs, is in the land of aristocrats and slaves – the southern slave States, where they can build or purchase splendid mansions, procure gilded carriages, buy or hire men-servants and maid-servants, whom they may scold, whip, imprison, torture, starve, or shoot with impunity, without their daring to utter one saucy word, or lift an arm in their own defence to save their lives. But there is one great drawback to these aris-

tocratic enjoyments – there are no game laws – there are no imprisoning, transporting, or hanging of poachers; nor are there any laws of primogeniture, to perpetuate high-sounding titles of nobility; but they will, nevertheless, find themselves quite at home there, as the high-minded slave-owners of Virginia, Carolina, and Kentucky boast much of having descended from the most noble families in England.

Though land of the very best quality may be obtained in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee much cheaper indeed than in any of the free States – though the climate is milder, more pleasant, and more healthy than in the northern States – and though the Virginians, Kentuckians, and Tennessians are very desirous of a grand accession of white settlers in these States, where large quantities of good land may be had for from two shillings to four shillings per acre, and their mineral wealth is inexhaustible – still I cannot recommend Englishmen to go there, because labour being generally performed by slaves, labour there, as in our own country, is considered degrading, and wealthy idleness honourable. The woman that should dare to perform the domestic labours of her family with her own hands, or the white man that should degrade himself by working hard in his own fields or workshop, would be considered not worthy of being spoken to by respectable neighbours, and even the niggers would despise them. To live respectably there, he must buy or hire male and female negroes to do all his work, his wife and daughters must become do-nothing, worthless ladies with pianos, and he must regularly and most aristocratically take his dog and gun, go into the woods, hunt, and shoot wild animals and runaway negroes. The consequence is, that whilst the free States are progressing faster in population and in wealth than any other countries in the

world, the proud and lazy slave-owners of the south are making comparatively little or no progress. Besides which, there is more fierce barbarity, more lawless violence, greater immorality, and less rational liberty in the slave states of America, than were found among the poor unfortunate Indians whom they have inhumanly murdered or driven out of the country.

English agriculturalists will do better by settling in the eastern States, upon land partly brought into cultivation, though the price of this land be higher, than they will in travelling to the far west, because it will save them the expense of travelling there and the labour of clearing forest land, which English farmers know nothing of, because the mode of culture adopted there will be more like what they have been used to at home, and because they will be near the best markets to dispose of their surplus produce. There are large tracts of good land to be had in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and other eastern States. The Yankees are leaving these States and these lands in shoals, and stretching themselves out to the farthest west, to Wisconsin, Iowa, and even the Oregon territory; let them go, they are the best pioneers for settling that country. English farmers will thrive best in the eastern States, and will feel themselves more at home there.

Factory machine makers will find most employment in the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, at Pittsburg, and in the State of Ohio. Engineers and locomotive engineers will do best in the same States, and also at Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis. Workmen in factories will also get employment in these places more readily than in any other part of the States. Canada is engaged almost entirely in agriculture and the timber trade. . . A great number of ship and boat-builders are employed

on the Ohio river, at Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and Louisville, and many are employed at St. Louis, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Colliers will find most employment in the neighborhoods of Pittsville, Cumberland, and Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania. Furnace-men, puddlers, and rollers at iron works, will find most work in Pittsburg, and other parts of Pennsylvania. Edge-tool makers in the neighbourhoods of Boston and New York, and in the country lying between these two places. Tanners, curriers, and leather-cutters will find more employment in the State of Massachusetts than in any other. Large quantities of leather are also made in New York State, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania. Sale shoe-makers will find most employment in Massachusetts; large numbers are also employed in New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio States. Wages are very low for sale shoes, but shoe-makers and tailors, good workmen, get good wages in the cities and towns generally: shoemakers one dollar per day, tailors one dollar and a half per day. Workmen in different trades frequently strike for advances in wages, or to prevent reductions, and they generally succeed; nominally the masters yield. I found this to have been the case in many places, and it answers the workmen's purpose while trade is good. The tailors were out when I was at Pittsburg, and were parading the streets with a band of music; they were out only one day, when the masters yielded, as they had done shortly before in Cincinnati. I conversed with some of the journeymen tailors on the subject. They say that the vests and trousers are mostly made by women, and the coats by men; that the keepers of retail, ready-made clothes shops purchase part of their goods from other towns, and get the rest made by persons out of employment, much below the regular rates of wages, and sell at very low prices, conse-

quently regular good workmen are confined to bespoken articles for first-rate master tailors; hence their employment is very precarious. They are often out of work, and are glad to get employment occasionally, at reduced wages, from the ready-made clothes shops, which reduces wages eventually, in spite of all they can do to prevent it. The principal glass works and glass-cutting shops are in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—most in New Jersey; there are sixty-four glass houses and thirty glass-cutting shops in these three States. Stone-masons will find most employment in New York, and New York State; next in Boston and Massachusetts; third in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania; and next in Connecticut and Ohio; in the rest of the States the use of stone is comparatively small. Lead miners should go to Galena, Dubuque, or St. Genevieve, on the Mississippi. Hat, cap, and bonnet makers will meet with most work, first in New York State, second in Boston and Massachusetts, third in New Hampshire, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New Jersey. The best farming lands are in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois States. Swine are reared principally in Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri States. Sheep in New York most of all, also in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Horses are reared principally in New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, Indiana, and Illinois. Neat cattle—New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. Printers and book-binders—New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, Connecticut. I hope this information will be useful to most classes and employments, and that it

will be useful to emigrants going to the States in search of employment. . .

[July 6] I have been frequently asked, Would you advise English workmen to emigrate to America and Canada? In reply, I would advise every working man in this country, who has a useful trade in his fingers, who is a good workman, is sober, steady, industrious, prudent, and has some money, over and above what will pay for his passage, to emigrate as soon as he can, either to the United States or to Canada; because I see no hopes of his condition being improved at home. The governing powers have seized upon six millions of acres of land that belonged to him, by means of what they are pleased to call Inclosure Bills, and divided it amongst themselves; and have, this session, brought in a bill for dividing four millions of acres more among them, which is all that remains to you; you cannot, therefore, go upon your land. The employers of the poor have a notion that you can live upon very low wages; machinery has placed you completely at their mercy, and they never think they have you low enough as long as you can exist at all. They will not shorten your hours of labour: they are now attempting to pass a tyrannical Masters and Servants' Bill, that will enable them to oppress you still more. The Poor Law Bill prevents you from getting sufficient relief from the workhouse, and everything you use is taxed beyond endurance. The Americans and Canadians are your brothers, they have land enough, food enough, and raw materials for labour enough for you all; they invite you to come, and will receive you with open arms to an untaxed land, flowing with milk and honey.

Whether you go out upon the individual private property system, or whether you go with the intention

of forming communities of united interests, I would advise you not to go out singly and individually, but to form yourselves into Emigration Societies, and to go out in colonies as the Germans generally do, comprising in their number men of all the trades necessary for forming a self-supporting community. Having subscribed funds for the purpose, you should appoint a delegation of several clever business men to go over to that country to choose a good location, and bargain for the land; in doing which, particular attention must be paid to healthiness of situation, conveniences for railroad or water carriage, proximity to good markets, fertile soil, abundance of good water, fuel, materials for building; and if you can, plenty of valuable minerals easily accessible, and the location should be suitable for the principal trades you intend to follow, both as to procuring raw materials, and disposing of the surplus goods that are made. Having done this, the Society should charter a vessel, to take them out at the proper season of the year, with the tools and machinery, and such other articles as their pioneers report will be useful and worth the carriage. The pioneers should make preparation for receiving and lodging them on their arrival, and for conveying them to the situation that is chosen. The Government emigrant agents at Quebec, Montreal, and Kingston, and the government land agents, in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and in every State in the Union, will willingly and cheerfully give every information and assistance, and the best advice to all respectable emigrants that are able to purchase land and support themselves till they can get their first crop from the land; and these are the parties both you and your pioneers should first apply to on arriving there, because they will be able to inform you what land the governments have to dispose of, and probably can in-

form you of eligible estates to be sold by private individuals. Mr. Buchanan, the government general emigrant agent at Quebec, told me that our government have very large tracts of excellent land to dispose of in Milbourne County, Lower Canada, south of the St. Lawrence River; and that fifty acres of this land will be given to every adult male, over twenty-one years of age, that applies for it, on condition that they can support themselves till they have got in their first harvest, and engage to get one crop off one-third part of that land within five years; and, as soon as that is accomplished, the land will be legally conveyed to them free of any expense. He also said the government has large quantities of land in Upper Canada, where the climate is milder: the government price of cultivated land is generally about five shillings per acre freehold. The Canada Company has about one million acres to dispose of in Upper Canada, which they offer on very favourable terms. Government requires cash payment for the land they sell, but the Canada Company will give credit to new settlers, by their paying six per cent interest for the money, and give them the privilege to purchase this land by instalments in any way they are able; great encouragements are given to deserving settlers in Canada, and the Canadians are very desirous of having a great accession to their present population. The government of Michigan, United States, had five hundred thousand acres of land to sell when I was there. I saw the agent, the price was one dollar and a quarter per acre, payable (if the purchaser choose) in government bonds, reckoned at par, which might then be had at less than fifty per cent, which would reduce the price of the land to about two shillings and sixpence per acre. There is very good land there: apply to the government land agent, at Jacksonville, on the railroad, Mich-

igan, about fifty miles from Detroit. There is a large quantity of land to be sold in Illinois; and there are also large tracts of land to be sold in many of the States, that were bought by speculators during the speculative mania a few years since, and are now being sold for the payment of the arrears of state taxes upon them. The only internal taxes they have to pay, are the municipal taxes in the towns and cities, and a tax upon land amounting to from about thirty-five to seventy cents upon every hundred dollars' value of the land per annum: this pays the expenses of the state governments and the education of the people. The federal government is supported by the customs duties. I heard of great numbers of estates and business establishments to be sold, belonging to private individuals, in every part of my journey. The Americans are a restless people, always on the move; they cannot endure to remain long in one place, and are always travelling west: there is just as great a rage for the west on the borders of the Mississippi as there is in New York and Boston. I found numbers of Yankees from the eastern States living in wretched log cabins in Illinois, that were doing well and saving money fast in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, &c. In travelling by stage coach from St. Louis to St. Charles, whilst stopping at an inn in a little village to water the horses, I inquired of a farmer the price of land there, and whether there was any to be sold. "Yes," he replied, "there is plenty to be had here: I have about one hundred and seventy acres, half of it under cultivation." "What will you take for it?" "I will sell it for ten dollars per acre, including the buildings, consisting of a log cabin, stables, &c." "How long have you been here?" "About eleven years." "Why do you wish to leave?" "I wish to purchase a larger lot farther west: I have a large family, and this will not

be land enough for a farm for each of them, besides which, my lads are getting into an idle way, hunting and shooting a great part of their time, because I have not work enough for them. The fact is we get our living too easily; but if I can get a large farm of new land, they will be obliged to work to clear it, and bring it into cultivation." . .

(b) BY AN IRISH "PERPETUAL TRAVELLER"

Nine Years in America: by Thomas Mooney, a traveller for several years in the United States of America, the Canadas, and other British Provinces in a Series of Letters to his cousin, Patrick Mooney, a farmer in Ireland, second edition (Dublin: James McGlashan, 21, D'Olier-Street, 1850). Sold by all booksellers.

Extracts from pages 15-17, 18, 19-20, 21, 22, 27, 37-39, 91-92.

. . . Nor do they content themselves with learning one trade only. Most young mechanics learn two trades, and that in half the time usually devoted to acquire trades in Ireland; two to three years is about the measure of time devoted to the study of a mechanical branch in America. They labour hard in the day, and they attend all kinds of lectures, instruction, and amusements in the evening. The young girls who work in factories, or at trades in their own homes, pay superior teachers for instruction in the light and more elegant female accomplishments, such as singing, music, dancing, drawing and languages.

The necessity imposed upon every one to obtain by his or her own exertions a living, begets that industry which pervades every American family. Every member of the family will do something to contribute to the family commonwealth: though the father may hold a public office, the boys are ready and willing to do any work which they know how to do to obtain money. I have frequently had the advertisements for my lectures posted on the walls of a town, by the sons of printers of newspapers, or by sons of sheriffs, jailors, or other pub-

lic men. Butchers serve out their meats – bakers their bread – dairymen their milk – grocers their various wares. On the other hand, the wealthiest men may be seen returning from the public markets with various articles of food, such as turkeys, legs of lamb, pieces of pork or beef, or baskets of vegetables, in their hands.

A great share of the light manufacture of America, is done by women in the farm-houses, especially in the New England states. For instance, straw bonnets. There are large straw bonnet establishments in New York and Boston, which have their agents continually travelling among the farm-houses. This agent drives a sort of van or omnibus, and brings round bunches of straw plait, and models of bonnets of the newest fashion. These he leaves with the farmers' wives and daughters, all round the country, who work up into bonnets, according to the peculiar model, the plait so left. In due season the agent returns with some more plait, and distributes it to the straw-sewers as before, and receives up the bonnets, for the making of which he pays. All the females of an entire district, including the doctors' and ministers' wives, are engaged in this work. In another district, where boot and shoe-making is carried on upon a large scale, the upper parts of boots and shoes are sent in bound into the farm-houses, where they are closed, bound, and otherwise prepared by female labour, and sent back in the same box by the stage coach, the waggon, or the railway. In the getting up of clothing, shirts, stocks, hosiery, suspenders, carriage trimmings, buttons, and a hundred other light things, the cheap labour of the farm-house is brought to the aid of manufactures: every district has in it some peculiar branch which is there successfully cultivated. The readiness, too, with which females enter into the factories, into

the great book-binding and tailoring establishments – contributes to make industry the leading idea of every one – for the females of a nation form the nation. . . Nor is it all work and no play with these republicans. On the contrary, the boys and girls, of a family have plenty of money of their own saving, and no people of the world enjoy more public amusement. Lectures, concerts, balls, pictorial exhibitions, theatricals, circuses, are to be met with in every village and hamlet. Every swarming village has its reading room and "lyceum," in which a course of public lectures is delivered during the winter. Those lectures embrace all that is interesting to the people, from the constitution of man to that of steam engines. The people are passionately fond of music and dancing, and all such amusements. They dress gaily, and wear out their clothes very fast; but they have a perpetual income from their industry, on which they rely in full confidence to replenish their wardrobes and their pockets. They keep their persons very neat, very cleanly, and study much the art of dress. I think they are the best dressed population in the world, though it must be admitted that streaks of absurdity are sometimes visible in their sumptual economy. . . The American farmer, Patrick, never pays any rent. When he takes a farm he buys it forever. If it be what is called "wild land," he pays the government about five British shillings an acre; and if he has no money on his first settling, it makes little matter, provided the land be not taken up, or "entered" by another. He goes on cultivating in perfect confidence, giving notice to the nearest government office. Two, three, or possibly seven years may pass over before he is called upon to pay the purchase money. Even then, if he should be so unfortunate as not to be able to discharge

the claim, he still has a "squatter's right;" and if another man has the hardihood, in face of public opinion, to buy his farm over his head, then the buyer must allow him for his "improvements," according to the valuation of twelve sworn men.

In the state of Wisconsin there has recently been enacted a law, denominated "The homestead exemption law," which is, in my humble opinion, the wisest law ever yet adopted by any nation to preserve the industrious from the machinations of the idle, and prevent the process of the pauper manufacture. It is this: A farmer buys and cultivates a farm; it may be large or small, 40 or 500 acres. He traffics and trades with the world, and in the course of time becomes unfortunate; his creditors come down upon his property with their executions; but this law interposes to an extent sufficient to prevent the unfortunate farmer becoming a pauper. It reserves from the grasp of the law the homestead; that is, the farmer's house, barn, stables, ploughs, oxen, waggons, farm horses, cows, pigs, poultry, furniture, and forty acres of the land nearest to his dwelling. It may be said this is unjust to creditors, but the answer is at hand—the creditors are purchasers with notice. The law presumes that no American farmer will seek credit, and that no merchant or shopkeeper will give him credit. When people have to pay out money for what they want, or think they want, then do they begin to value money, time, and labour. And when shopkeepers require money for their wares, then it is very likely they will do well, and not, as under the credit system in Europe, make paupers, first of their customers, and lastly of themselves.

The Wisconsin homestead law has lately been adopted by two of the old states, viz., Vermont and New

Hampshire, and will, I am persuaded, be adopted by the other free states. . .

The food of the American farmer, mechanic, or labourer, is the best I believe enjoyed by any similar classes in the whole world. At every meal there is meat, or fish, or both; indeed, I think the women, children, and sedentary classes, eat too much meat for their own good health. However, it is an error on the right side, easily cured when discovered. The breakfast of the common people is made up of coffee or tea, fish meat, butter, bread, potatoes, all on the table. Dinner: meat and fish, potatoes, bread, pies made of apples or berries of all sorts, indian pudding. Supper: tea, meat, bread, hot cakes, &c.

This kind of diet, or "board," with lodging and washing, can be had in the "mechanics' boarding houses" in any of the cities of America (except those in the south) at two and a half dollars a week (11s. British) for men, and one dollar and a half (6s. 6d. British) for women. In the western states the same board and lodging can be had by the same classes for two dollars (8s. 6d. British) a week for men, and one dollar for women. In the southern cities board is nearly double these rates.

From all these causes the value of common manual labour is higher in the United States than in any other part of the world. The average value of a common uneducated labourer is 80 cents (3s. 4d.) a day. Of educated or mechanical labour, 125 to 200 cents (5s. to 8s.) a day; of female labour, 40 cents (1s. 8d.) a day. Against meat, flour, vegetables, and groceries at one-third less than they rate in Great Britain and Ireland; against clothing, house rent and fuel, at about equal; against public taxes at about three-fourths less; and a certainty of employment, and the facility of acquiring houses and lands, and education for children, a hundred

to one greater. The farther you penetrate into the country, Patrick, the higher in general will you find the value of labour, and the cheaper the price of all kinds of living.

. . . The paupers in the whole United States are under 50,000, scarcely one of which is to be found begging in the streets. The great bulk of paupers are found in the alms-houses of the seaboard cities (named below), and in the large and dense manufacturing towns; the majority formed by the deposit from emigration, or the excrescence of the factories, or the dregs of intemperance. These are fed in the alms-houses by a tax on the citizens; and the most of this pauper crowd are Irish – the unfortunate appendages of the great annual immigration from that country. In the interior the paupers bear but the merest fraction to the rest of the inhabitants. I have never found more than some 40 or 50 paupers in the sole alms-house of a town of eight or ten thousand inhabitants; and in the country or farming districts, not over a dozen old people in the alms-house, and these almost supported by their own cultivation of the alms house farm. . .

. . . I will first suppose you are unmarried; if so you can get on right well in the new world. If you don't fall into work which you like, or are accustomed to, you will get work of some sort. The lowest wages going in the United States for a labourer's day's work, is seventy cents, or about three shillings British money. This would be eighteen shillings for a week; and you can obtain good board, lodging, and washing for a little less than ten British shillings, or two and a half dollars a week. So that you will be able to save seven or eight shillings a week to buy the farm, which farm you can buy for five shillings an acre, and about which I shall fully inform you as we go along. Remember that, if

you please, you can, as soon as you get into a regular employment, save the price of an acre and a half of the finest land in the world every week! and in less than a year you will have money enough to start to the west, and take up an eighty acre farm, which will be your own for ever. When you are in America six months, you will become so accustomed to their work, and generally so handy, that you will get a dollar a day, or even something more, if you mind well your character and business.

Let me next suppose you are married, but as yet without children. In this case your chance is still better. A "man and wife" will soon get employment in the same family: the man in the laborious duties belonging to his class, and his wife as an indoor help – not "servant," as such are styled at home. A female house servant is worth four to five dollars a month and board, in any part of the United States; and if she has any good idea of cooking, or washing, and "doing up" fine washing – or will learn to do these things from her American mistress, she will readily get six or seven dollars a month and board. In all the British provinces of North America, the wages of common labourers and females is, as a general rule, one third less than it is in the United States. There are some classes of mechanics, however, who get as good wages in the British provinces as the same kind get in the States, about whom I shall hereafter speak.

Here then we will suppose your wife is putting up at least four dollars a month, or about fifty dollars in the year, which will stock the farm; and in one year, or thereabouts, though you land here without a penny, you and she will have enough wherewith to start off to the west, where the land is good and cheap. This you will do provided you do not drink your money, and that

she does not spend hers in the gew-gaws of the milliners. Never mind costly dresses, Patrick, until you get the farm, and have something from your own estate to sell. Then dress as fine as your neighbours—and you can do it then; but in the meantime, always be cleanly in your person—on working days as well as on Sundays. Shave off your heavy beard, and don't wear bushy idle looking whiskers—cleanliness of face, shirt, and well-mended working dress, are equal to the best written character you could bring from Ireland—and rather better, too, as you will find out in the course of a short time here.

I will next suppose you have a wife and children, large and small. In this case I confess I feel great difficulty in giving advice. The cost of getting a family over to the United States is nothing to the supporting of them here. I speak now of young children from ten or twelve years of age downwards. All healthy active children above these ages can provide for themselves; the girls as well as the boys can readily obtain employment either in families or in factories; but the smaller children will be a dead weight on you, like a millstone round your neck, as long as you are earning wages from week to week: but when you get the farm, Patrick, the more children you have the happier you will be. However, in the beginning the smaller children will be a very serious pull-back on your progress; for if you bring them out with you before you get the farm, your wife will have to stay at home in some expensive lodging to mind them; and then all the money you can earn will be required to support your idle wife and idle little children, and you will hardly ever get one dollar to overtake another; and there you will remain an unfortunate town drudge all the days of your life, not much better than you have been in Ireland. Thousands of

our countrymen, who were reared all their lives on farms, and who never were acquainted with the vicious life of cities, have, on arriving in America, nestled in the filthy cellars and garrets, and have worked in the nasty labour which is alone open to friendless strangers; and when they have earned a little money in this way, instead of moving out in quest of a wholesome farm, have married, and commenced a family in the midst of poverty, vice, and sin, which family are subject to the thousand evil influences of city life, and too frequently disgrace the parent and the fatherland which gave the parents birth. Remember then, that the American cities are not the homes you seek for. Get out of them as fast as you can, either on foot or otherwise. Face towards the setting sun; take any work or job that offers as you travel; do this, and you will find at last the true home you seek. . .

I may here safely lay it down as a general rule, once for all, that clerks, drapers' assistants, shopmen, grocers, newly arrived from Ireland, have very poor chances of getting "situations" in New York, or in any of the chief cities near the sea board. They must take some secondary work to support them, and bide their time, before they can find the place for which they are suited. There are classes of mechanics for whom New York and other Atlantic cities may afford the most certain employment, such as watch and timepiece makers of the highest capacities, carvers and gilders, house decorators, fine stucco men, fine tool and instrument makers, silver workers, gold workers, upholsterers, first class boot makers, first class tailors (cutters,) first class hat finishers, slaters, barbers and hair dressers, who have practised in London, Dublin or Paris, whitesmiths, fine engravers, especially on wood; fine ornamental stone cutters, horse-shoers, opticians, fine car-

riage-spring-makers, harness-makers, fine machine-makers, founders in metals, fine leather-dressers and curriers, sail, rigging, and rope-makers. All these can probably do better in New York, Philadelphia, and the other Atlantic cities north, as far as Portland, in the state of Maine, and southward, as far as Norfolk, Virginia, than in the western interior. The wages for most of those mechanics, always reserving that they must be first class in their respective crafts, are two dollars a day; it may be a shilling or two less, or a shilling or two more, according to circumstances. Mechanics of second and third rate abilities will do far better a thousand miles westward. So also will all those who aim at getting good farms and living happy. Labourers, small capitalists, females, young and old, should never rest until they get back to the great western states. . .

2. IMMIGRATION

(a) THE VOYAGE

New York *Daily Tribune*, Dec. 2, 5, 1853

[December 2, p. 3] . . . Upon this deck the "steerage passengers" will be conveyed to New-York. The height between the two decks, is seven feet. This space is however curtailed some three-fourths of a foot by the beams which support the upper deck. However, as the law demands that "not less than six feet of space shall intervene between the decks," we should not grumble.

Between the fore and after steerages, a partition has been erected. Formerly both sexes were lodged together, and sometimes men and women were placed in the same berth, without regard to decency or consanguinity. By formerly, I mean not more than four years ago. By a recent act of Parliament, the sexes are now divided, the males occupying the forward and the females the after steerages. The law, however, is far from being enforced, as I have shown in my second article. I shall have occasion to refer to this subject, at greater length, in a subsequent article.

On this deck, extending the whole length of the ship, 440 human beings will eat, drink, and sleep; will prepare food for cooking; will keep food for eating; will dress and undress; cleanse and become filthy again, for eight mortal weeks – 56 days and nights.

We are now, after much rolling and tumbling, supposed to be standing at the extreme end of the ship. At our back are the stern windows, through which a little light struggles; and when, as now, there is no

probability of the water dashing in, they are opened, and a little wholesome air admitted. The width of the ship at this point is hardly 28 feet; at the center she swells out some 10 feet more. The steerage looks like a long and gloomy tunnel, its roof broken at distant intervals by hatchways, down whose shaft-like apertures the light of day descends. Each side of this tunnel exhibits two ranges of shelves, the extreme ends of which are lost in the murky distance. These shelves are suspended from the upper deck by iron braces, and designed to "accommodate" the passengers – they are "the sleeping apartments." The berths are six feet in length and 18 inches in width, with a partition six inches in height between every four berths. The sleepers lie athwart ship, with their head to the center of the vessel. I have said the sleeping spaces are 18 inches in width, but at the foot the width for four persons is not more than five feet, the space is so curtailed by the ship's knees, which jut out at regular intervals all along the vessel. The berths are composed of common pine boards. When the ship arrives in New-York they are taken down by the carpenter, and stowed away for the use of the next "outward cargo." From the deck to the bottom of a berth is about 18 inches, from the bottom of a lower berth to that above it is two feet and a few inches, and the same from the bottom of the top berth to the deck above. Thus people sleep in two layers, on each side of the ship, as close together as it is possible to stow them. There is no attempt at classification; the vicious and the virtuous lie side by side in the steerage of an emigrant ship.

It will of course be imagined that an ample supply of fresh air makes up for the density of the packing. . .

With such a heterogeneous mass of luggage, it would be very difficult for air, if supplied ever so liberally, to

have a free circulation; but as the quantity furnished is exceedingly limited, the atmosphere of the steerage is always fetid.

All the light admitted into the steerage finds its way through the hatchways, stern-ports and a few side-ports. The air is admitted from the hatchways and down three tubes, or chimney-like pipes, called "ventilators." These tubes run through to the spar-deck, where their open mouths are faced to the wind. The diameter of each is about twelve inches. By such means all the light and air is supplied which 440 "£2 10s. or £3 passengers" are supposed to require, or at any rate are entitled to. . .

The Government Inspector has gone below with the Captain, I presume to fulfill the duties of his office. That is to inspect the stores of water and provisions, and to certify that all the requirements of the law have been complied with. Presently they return from the cabin, apparently on very friendly terms with each other. The uninitiated would imagine that the business of inspecting the stores and arrangements of so large a ship would require a long time, but it occupied less than an hour. It is rumored that the biscuit, flour, oatmeal, and similar stores have been inspected, and their quality and quantity certified to from neat samples displayed in the cabin. Further, that generous wine, and stimulating brandy was provided there, to take off the raw chill of the morning; and that a bank note for £10 has been mysteriously secreted among the officer's papers; which singular circumstance he does not discover until the ship has got her clearance papers signed, and has put to sea. Of course, he resolves to return it when she again arrives in the port; but of course the matter escapes his memory, amid the multitude of circumstances of similar singularity.

I do not say that such rumors are facts; but I do assert that I have heard the second and third officers of the ship jest over the matter, and "reckon our skipper is a smart fellow," when she had been to sea but 30 days, and the allowance of water was curtailed one-half. . .

[December 5, p. 3] . . . It will have been observed by all who have ever gone down into the steerage of an emigrant ship, even after it has been cleansed and purified and fumigated in the best manner, that there always remains a sickening, death-like odor, exceedingly nauseous and unwholesome. This is the result of the absorption of putrid animal matter by the timber of the ship. The reader will suppose himself on board the emigrant ship, and ten days out from Liverpool. This sickening smell in the steerage has become absolutely poisonous. The impregnated timbers, quickened by the animal heat of so many human beings crowded into the vilely-ventilated steerage, exude a clammy, pestilential sweat, rendering the air doubly deleterious to health, and the emigrants ripe for the ravages of contagious disease. . .

To turn to matters more to the point, the first consideration among the passengers on arising in the morning would naturally be cleanliness. But for that purpose salt water must be used – fresh was too scarce and valuable. Salt water can only be procured by ascending two long and slippery ladders, and scrambling to the bow of the ship, where a salt-water pump is situated. No washing apparatus is provided, but the passenger has the privilege of setting his wash-bowl upon the deck and performing his ablution as best he may. After this necessary operation has been gone through, breakfast is the next consideration. The passenger has just left the noisome steerage and inhaled pure air; he must again descend, and from the depths of his provision

chest or barrel find something for his meal. But this food is unfit to eat; it has absorbed the putrid flavor of the steerage atmosphere; and, instead of possessing nutritious properties, is disgusting to the stomach and deleterious to health. Perchance, if he is very poor, his food will consist mainly of oaten cake or oat meal porridge. In many instances I have known the emigrant forced to use his meal bag as a pillow, because the perspiration from his skin was less objectionable than the reeking filth of the steerage deck. If he has to make oaten cake he is forced to knead it upon a barrel head, or the top of a box, and these, in the absence of seats, have to serve for that purpose also. After this tasty preparation, it involves a struggle of hours to get the meal cooked, and even then it is often too filthy to be eaten with open eyes, and too nauseous to be retained upon the stomach. . .

Every morning water was served out. Every morning each passenger that would use it must go for it. Accordingly at the call of the carpenter away the passengers would hurry to get their cans. These vessels for holding water are all purchased of the ship chandler, in Liverpool; in shape they are similar to a varnish can; are made of the poorest apology for single tin, and leak with singular freedom. During the first few days after a ship leaves port the passengers are generally sick, and not having had the precaution to secure their property, it rolls about in every direction, and of course sustains much damage. That will probably account for the diversity of shape, and the entire absence of symmetry in these water cans. The water is carried in the ship's hold, beneath the deck of the steerage. Every passenger is therefore compelled to descend to this disgusting region, and slip and slide about until he receives his allowance. The carpenter is the pre-

siding genius over the dispensing of this and the solid necessaries of life. He compels several of the male passengers to descend into the hold and serve out the water. They insert a small pump into a hogshead of water, and pump the fluid into a tub. The carpenter sits upon a chest or barrel on the steerage deck, and takes a board, upon which has been marked the several numbers of the passengers, and calls each from the commencement. The can is passed below, the water measured from the tub, and poured into it, and then returned to the owner. As each person is served, the carpenter inserts a pin in the number of his berth.

This mode of serving out water is attended with great waste, and the passengers never receive a full three quarts. I here unhesitatingly assert that from the time the ship left Liverpool, until she arrived in New York, none of the passengers, as a rule, received more than two quarts of water, instead of "three," as demanded by law and stipulated for by the passage contract. The carpenter, to whom was entrusted the duty of serving the passengers with water and provisions, was the vilest ruffian that ever disgraced humanity. . .

(b) THE ARRIVAL

New York *Daily Tribune*, July 14, 1853, p. 3.

. . . It is well known to the writer of this article, and I doubt not to a majority of the people of these United States, that most of those who emigrate hither for the purpose of becoming citizens, are of the honest, industrious and confiding class, who suppose they are coming to a land of freedom, where at least their first entrance into this City would be met with honesty on the part of those into whose hands they first fall, before leaving for their new and western home. Such, I am sorry to say, is not the fact. Their very first recep-

tion, and in many cases even before leaving the good ship that has labored and brought them to our shores, they are beset by a set of the most unprincipled scamps (emigrant runners) that ever disgraced any city; and through falsehood and deception, are made to believe that they are the agents of railroads and captains of steamboats. They then take them to some booking house, where the same falsehoods and swindle is gone through with; tickets sold, and in many instances three prices paid, and the poor emigrant fleeced out of $12 or $14 in the second class fare to St. Louis. These are every day occurrences, and not isolated cases. When will these things be looked into by the proper authorities? Has not the Legislature the same power to enact a law prohibiting the sale of such tickets, as well as prohibiting the sale of lottery tickets and policies? One is as much a swindling or gambling operation as the other, and just as sure of usurping and ruining the mind and morals of men and youth. Any person conversant with forwarding of emigrant passengers for the last ten years, can plainly see the deleterious influence upon the morals of those engaged either as runners or bookers, as they are called, as well as upon the neighborhood in the immediate vicinity. Respectable ladies cannot go in the vicinity of these booking-houses, without having their minds shocked by the recital of the most profane, vulgar and obscene language from the by-standers and hangers-on of these places. In any other city but this such things could not be; the proper authorities would arrest its progress, and the evil be abated.

There is no necessity for these booking-shops; the public good does not require them; the very tickets are worthless unless exchanged by the regular constituted agent before leaving the City. Thus you see the poor but unsuspecting emigrants are yearly robbed of tens

of thousands of dollars by these booking-houses, under, I had almost said, false pretenses. And I would respectfully ask under what head it does come, if not false pretense? And I would again ask, of what earthly use are they to any one but themselves? Surely not to the emigrant; for in addition to the extra charge for tickets, they make an enormous extra charge for extra baggage, which they also claim and collect, and thus again they rob the poor and unsuspecting emigrant, and even females with children do not escape their fangs.

For the sake of justice and humanity towards these unsuspecting strangers who come among us, let the whole community rise in honest indignation, and compel these booking-houses to discontinue their unholy traffic, and go into an honest and honorable calling. B.

(c) ATTITUDE OF AMERICAN LABOR

Voice of Industry (Fitchburg, Mass.), Oct. 9, 1845. "Progress of Monopoly."

We copy the following item from the Lowell *Journal*. "Two hundred workmen from England arrived at the Iron Works at Danville, Penn., where they are to be employed."

The above few lines contain an important lesson for every workingman and woman in America, they clearly exhibit to the unbiased, investigating and reflecting mind, the onward rapid strides of the great, deep-rooted inhuman monster system of capital against labor, which is fast devouring every tangible and valuable right that belongs to the working classes of this country, as moral, physical and intellectual beings, capable of filling the land with an abundance, and generating peaceful industry, virtue and happiness. . . The democratic republican capital of this country, which has been so amply fortified against foreign despotic

capital by the suffrages of American workingmen ("all for their especial benefit;") says there are not enough "free, independent and well paid" workingmen and women in this country; consequently foreign operatives and workmen must be imported – no tariff on these! no, no, it wont do to protect the capital of American workingmen and women (their labor) against foreign competition! for this would be anti-republican. But, "protect the rich capitalist and he will take care of the laborer."

Now the capitalists of the Danville Iron works wish to protect themselves against these "disorderly strikes," by importing a surplus of help; the Lowell capitalists entertain the same republican idea of self protection, the Pittsburg and Alleghany city capitalists, whose sympathies, (if they have any,) have been recently appealed to, wish to secure themselves against "turn-outs" by creating a numerous poor and dependant populace. Isolated capital everywhere and in all ages protects itself by the poverty ignorance and servility of a surplus population, who will submit to its base requirements – hence the democratic or whig capital of the United States is striving to fill the country with foreign workmen – English workmen, whose abject condition in their own country has made them tame, submissive and "peaceable, orderly citizens;" that is, work fourteen and sixteen hours per day, for what capital sees fit to give them, and if it is not enough to provide them a comfortable house to shelter their wives and children and furnish them with decent food and clothes, why, they must live in cellars, go hungry and ragged! – and for this state of things, capitalists are not answerable. O! no – "they (the laborers) aint obliged to take it – they are free to go when they please!" . . .

Working Man's Advocate, March 23, 1844.

THE NATIVE AMERICAN PARTY. What has given rise to the new party now organized in this city and two or three other places, under the above name? Evidently, an influx of foreign labor into a market already overstocked. The existence of this conspicuous evil is clearly the motive of those who form the body, the rank and file, of the Native American Party. The officers and leaders of the party, who are chiefly composed of the disappointed office seekers of the other parties, are incensed against the foreign population for the very disinterested reason that their occupation of office seeking has been encroached upon by adopted citizens. Another truth connected with this subject is, that both of the old parties have, to curry favor with the foreign born interest, freely dealt out to them the bribe of petty offices, in order to secure their influence and votes for offices of more importance.

This state of things has very naturally led to the formation of the Native American Party. The body of the party, the suffering working classes, smarting under the effects of competition, and justly incensed to see foreigners promoted to office merely because they are foreigners, are led on by men to expect a distribution of the city offices as a reward of victory. . . Let no working man be deluded with the idea that, even could the measures of the Native American Party, the exclusion of foreigners from the polls and from office, be accomplished, one cent would be added to their daily pittance or one hour's labor more secured to them. . . The plain and simple remedy for the real evils complained of by the Native Americans is, to free the country from the curse of speculation in land and let the people go and cultivate the people's farm.

(d) VIEWS OF A GERMAN COMMUNIST

Volks Tribun (New York), May 9, 1846.

Die zunehmende Einwanderung aus Deutschland. Mögen auch die hartherzigen Aristokraten dieses Landes mit verbissenem Ingrimm den neuen Ankömmlingen aus Deutschland entgegensehen, die in immer grösseren Schaaren an dieser Küste landen,—mögen auch selbst deutsche Zeitungschreiber es versuchen, den vielfach eingeschüchterten Arbeitern die zunehmende Einwanderung als ein Unglück darzustellen, alle ächten Republikaner in Amerika emfangen die gequälten Flüchtlinge mit offenen Armen, denn sie wissen, dass, wer durch den Druck des Despotismus gezwungen ward, seinen heimischen Heerd zu verlassen, eine tüchtige stütze der Demokratie werden muss.

Aber freilich, wenn alle diese armen Arbeiter bestimmt wären, sich in den Städten gegenseitig in Wege zu stehen, wenn man ihnen nicht die Mittel geben könnte, sich selbst und die Ihrigen mit ihrer Hände Arbeit zu ernähren und für alle Wohlstand zu erzeugen—dann müssten wir bei jedem ankommenden Auswandererschiff heisse Thränen, denn jedes brächte uns neues Elend und neuen Jammer, jedes verminderte den Lohn und vertheuerte die Lebensmittel. Und was sollte denn am Ende aus uns werden? Müssten wir nicht zuletzt erbärmlich verhungern, trotz Demokratie und Republik? Eigensinnige Menschen, die Ihr seid, wollt Ihr denn nie einsehen lernen, dass Ihr die Mittel in den Händen habt, Euch und allen den unglücklichen Einwanderern auf einmal zu helfen? Wollt Ihr denn nie einsehen lernen, dass Ihr nicht zu verhungern braucht, so lange Ihr noch zu essen habt, und dass Ihr Euch reichlich zu essen schlaffen könnt, so lange Ihr noch unbebautes Land habt, und Hände, es zu bearbeiten?

Werdet doch endlich vernüftig und gebraucht Eure gesunden Sinne, Euch glücklich zu machen. Behaltet fest in den Händen, was Ihr habt und lasst Euch nicht auch noch den letzten Rest vor der Nase wegstehlen – Ihr seid doch wahrhaftig nach gerade genug bestohlen. Sagt den Spekulanten: "Hände weg von unserem Land, was noch unser ist, soll unser bleiben, und von jetzt an wollen wir es der Arbeit aufheben zu freiem Gebrauch – wir wissen jetzt, dass wir uns von Eurem Banknoten nicht satt essen können, wir gebrauchen andere Nahrungsmittel, und die müssen erzeugt werden, darum behalten wir den Boden, damit wir sicher sind, nicht Eure Leibeignen zu werden!"

Ist erst der Boden frei, da wird jeder redliche Arbeiter, der seine alte Heimath verlassen, um in der freien Luft auf dieser Seite des Ocean's ein glücklicheres Leben zu führen, ein Segen für unsere Republik, und wir können jedes Auswandererschiff mit tausend Freudenschüssen willkommen heissen, denn Arbeit giebt's die Hülle und Fülle, und je mehr producirende Hände, desto mehr Wohlstand.

[Translation of the above.]

THE INCREASING IMMIGRATION FROM GERMANY. While hard hearted aristocrats of this country may, with suppressed rage, look forward to the new arrivals, who in ever greater numbers land on these shores from Germany, and while even German editors may try to represent to the overtimid working men this increasing immigration as a misfortune, all staunch Republicans in America will receive the distressed fugitives with open arms, for they know that whoever has been compelled by the oppression of despotism to leave his native hearth must become a valuable support to democracy.

But if, indeed, all these poor working men were des-

tined to be in each other's way in the cities, if they could not be given the means to support themselves and families by the work of their hands and to assist in producing general prosperity, then we might well shed hot tears at each incoming immigrant ship, for each would bring so much new misery and new sorrow, each would decrease the wages and raise the price of provisions. And what would become of us in the end? Would we not miserably starve in spite of democracy and republicanism? Self-willed people, as you are, will you then, never learn to comprehend that you have the means in your hands to help yourselves and all the unfortunate immigrants at the same time? Will you never learn to realize that you need not starve, so long as you still have something to eat, and that you can get plenty to eat so long as you have uncultivated land and hands to cultivate it? Grow wise at last and use your sound sense, to make yourselves happy. Hold fast what you have, and do not let the last remnant be stolen away before your eyes, for truly you have been robbed enough. Say to the speculators, "Hands off of our land, what is still ours, shall be ours, and from now on we shall reserve it for honest labor and free use – we know now that we can not satisfy our hunger with your bank notes, we need other means of sustenance and these must be produced, therefore we shall keep the soil, so that we may be assured, that we will not become your bondmen!"

If once the soil is free, then every honest working man, who leaves his old home in order to lead a happier life in the free air on this side of the ocean, becomes a blessing to our republic, and we shall be able to welcome every immigrant ship with a thousand guns, for work gives abundance, and the more producing hands, the more wealth.

(e) EFFECT ON CLASS FEELING

The *Harbinger* (Brook Farm), July 3, 1847, p. 51.

TRIP TO VERMONT. . . No one of the social tendencies of this State is more striking than that relating to labor. There has been within fifteen years, almost a complete revolution in this regard. Time was, when the sons and daughters of farmers deemed it no disgrace to labor for wages on a neighbor's farm or in his domestic employment. The employer considered himself in no way superior to the employed; they stood on a basis of equality, and regarded each other with mutual respect. Now it is among the rarest things to find the son of a farmer, or even a native of the State, working by the month or by the day upon a farm, and it is equally rare to find a farmer's daughter performing domestic service in a neighbor's family, and if any are found doing it, it is because they can command unusual wages, and at the same time feel that they do not compromise their social standing. It was little thought when it commenced, that the employment of Irish and Canadian helps would so soon accomplish such a revolution. But would employers give $12 per month, and $1 per week, for the help of their neighbors' sons and daughters, when they could get far more compliant and servile ones for half the money, and with a little instruction equally skilful? And would those who had formerly performed this labor, continue to do it, when attended with such a reduction of wages, and when their social standing was affected by it? The Irish girl and Canadian were not treated as equals. They were not allowed to eat with their employers, were never allowed to entertain company in the parlor, and go to parties with the sons and daughters of the farmer; and here was a distinction odious, and till then unheard of,

broadly and clearly drawn between the farmer and his helps – between the employer and the employed. This was a language, whose significance could not fail to be understood, by those who had formerly officiated in the capacity of hired men and girls. To be a "hired man" or a "hired girl" was no disgrace, but to be a mere "help" was odious and abominable.

Moderate farmers instead of seeing, as formerly, their daughters securely and honorably employed in a neighbor's service, watched over, and cared for, as children and friends, now see them quitting home, friends, and paternal guardianship, to throng the factories of Manchester, Lowell and Andover. . .

3. THE NORTHERN NEGRO

New York *Daily Tribune*, March 20, 1851.

CONVENTIONS OF COLORED PEOPLE. There is now in session in this City a Convention composed entirely of colored citizens. The object of the Convention is to consider the present condition of the Negro race, and to devise means for its improvement. On Tuesday evening, Dr. J. McCune Smith read a report from the Committee on the Social Condition of the Colored Race. It was an elaborate document, containing a great many curious facts. The first question discussed was, whether the colored people should endeavor to organize themselves in the City, or devise a plan of settling in the country. The report made, considers the subject:

The advantages about city life with us are, that a larger number of us can be within short distances of each other, and thereby may easily organize without such disadvantage as would grow from the same number being banded in a single county.

We get a large amount of friction without being so condensed as to be reached by a law for removing us from any rural locality – such laws as expatriated Indians and Mormons. We can be, if we will, much better provided for in the matter of education in the city than we could in the country. We can, if we choose, throw vastly more trade of our own and of other people, in the way of each other in the city, than we could in the country.

The disadvantages of our City life – I mean those peculiar to us, for all city life is, after all, a kind of hot-house forcing of human beings – are the following:

1st. Our lives are much shortened. Look at the preponderance of widows and children among us. They so far exceed the calamities of mere sickness, that our benevolent societies have been obliged to cut off the widows and orphans, in order to help the sick.

2nd. Next, the seductions of the City – policy gambling, porter houses, with their billiards and cards, create a gang of lazaroni of

both sexes, women hastening through the streets, with their bonnets untied; men, shirtless and shoeless, hanging round the corners, or standing, walking, gutter-tumbling – signs which our foes call the type of our condition.

3d. City life shuts us from general mechanical employment; while journeymen in the cities refuse to work with us, and colored bosses have either too little capital, or too little enterprise, to bring up and employ apprentices and journeymen.

4th. From the necessity of seeking employment in the city, as servants, porters, &c., our manhood is, in a measure, demeaned, lowered, kept down; and I doubt much whether manhood flourishes very much among citizens of any class.

5th. The enormous combination of capital, which is slowly invading every calling in the city, from washing and ironing to palace steamers, must tend more and more to grind the face of the poor in the cities, and render them more and more the slaves of lower wages and higher rents.

No sane man can doubt, from this or any comparison of the kind, that country life is the better choice for our people; not consolidated, isolated country life, but a well mixed country and village life. The matter of education, the great disadvantage of country life, might be remedied by concert of action.

As to the practicability of removing to the country, it was argued, that savings might be effected by the two thousand colored families in the city, in a rigid economy of house-rent and fuel, enough to establish a bank, which would soon colonize the entire class. The topic was first illustrated in the matter of house-rent thus:

In the rear of No. 17 Laurens-street, is a back lot which cost $2,500; on it are erected two buildings, which cost $6,000, Total, $8,500. Interest on which, at 7 per cent, is $595; and add for taxes, insurance and wear $100, making full cost $695 per year. These two buildings are occupied by twenty colored families, who pay an average of $7 each per month; that is $1,680 per year. Here is a clear profit to the landlord of $985 per year, above interest and expense.

Here then, in the single item of rent, twenty families are paying enough to fit out two families a year most amply and abundantly for the country.

Again: If those buildings were owned by a colored Savings In-

stitution, whose surplus funds should be devoted to setting up colored young men on farms, such institution, after paying depositors six per cent would have a splendid surplus for starting farmers or men in others business. If we take a larger view of this matter of house rent, the results are amazing. According to the above estimate, each one of the twenty families in the rear of 17 Laurens-st. are paying $37 per year too much for house rent.

There are some 2,500 colored families in New York and its vicinity; say that each family pays only $10 a year too much for house rent, and that these families could, by organization, retrench and accumulate that sum per year, and we would save, in this one item, $25,000 per year!

In respect to the use of fuel, it was also shown, that it is next in importance. Our 2,000 families consume at least two and a half tons coal each year per year, making 4,500 tons. At least two-thirds of these 2,000 families buy their coal by the bushel or peck, thereby paying $2 per ton more than the market price, which is a sacrifice of $6,000 per year. Then, if these 2,000 families combined to buy their own coal at the wharf, they could save, by purchasing cargoes, $1 on each ton, at least, which is $10,500. Allowing the hire of a coal yard at $800 per year, and the pay of two good clerks at $800 each, there would be a clear gain of $8,100 in the single matter of coal, if we would thoroughly organize the matter.

By similar calculations, it can be shown that we could easily save $20,000 on groceries and food, and $10,000 on wearing apparel; beside setting up in successful and commanding business such men as are capable, intelligent and trustworthy.

In order to accomplish these, the report proposed the establishment of a mutual bank, in which all the depositors should be at the same time stockholders, and which should have power to buy and sell real estate, to discount paper, to lend money on bond and mortgage, and to deal in merchandise. The Doctor, after concluding the reading of the report, said that there were $40,000 or $50,000 belonging to colored people invested in savings banks in Wall-st., and he then presented the following resolution:

Resolved, that a Committee of three be appointed, with power to present the form of a Mutual Savings Institution, embracing the matters of house rent, fuel and other domestic wants, and that one of the conditions of membership of said institution shall be a pledge to abstain from policy-gambling.

A discussion of the subject at great length took place, in the course of which fearful revelations were made of the extent of policy gambling among the blacks, and the resolution adopted.

4. EXTENSION OF THE AREA OF COMPETITION

Federal Union, April 15, 1845; quoted from the Georgia *Banner*.

Brother Mechanics of Georgia, and especially of our own Village: The Mechanics of all kinds in this country are injured by rail roads to some extent. They are brought single handed to compete with those large manufacturing establishments in the Northern States and foreign countries, where labour is worth comparatively nothing, brought in opposition by the aid of steam and the rail roads as it were in your own village, by the transportation of the manufactured articles of all kinds, and sold at your own shop doors at reduced prices by your own merchants, and bought by your own farmers from whom you expected patronage. Is this not one of the main causes why your villages are not flourishing, the houses vacant, and in a delapidated condition, your academies destitute of teachers, destitute of pupils? It certainly is one of the main causes why Mechanics are reduced to poverty not being able to build up our towns and cities or to educate their children so as to make them respectable members of society. Brother mechanics, this is not as it should be – then rouse up from your lethargy, go drooped down and depressed no longer, come forth in your might and power, and at once as it were, you will be able to correct the evil. You should form yourselves into large and permanent manufacturing companies. With our skill and enterprise you may soon rear up in your midst, manufacturing establishments of various kinds to manufacture those very articles that afford a considerable item in the commerce of the coun-

try, make your towns and villages soon become flourishing, affording a great market for surplus products, raised by the farmers in our own midst, and as all classes will feel the benefit in a short time it will be but a little while before your business will be profitable to yourselves and the country in which you live. I might be asked to suggest some plan to give the above suggestions a permanent and practical notice to the community at large. One that I would mention is that it should be the business of every mechanic of every branch of business, to apply himself closely to his business. Let that be his daily employment instead of, as is too often the case, quitting his shop, taking the streets, becoming a street politician, a dandy, or a drunkard. Remedy those three evils and the work is half accomplished.

A MECHANIC.

5. THE BANKING SYSTEM AND THE MERCHANT-CAPITALIST

Public Ledger (Philadelphia), Jan. 30, Feb. 1, 1841.

[January 30, p. 2] . . . We will suppose the State of Pennsylvania without banks or manufacturing corporations, and yet with a population as intelligent, industrious and enterprising as the present. A mechanic, without money, wishes to buy leather for making shoes. What are his resources? His intelligence, industry and integrity, which will surely procure credit with the tanner and dealer in leather. A jobber or retailer wishes to commence business in Philadelphia. What is his capital? The same as that of the shoemaker, and which will certainly procure credit from the importer or jobber. A merchant or mechanic would establish a manufactory, and has not sufficient means. What is his expedient? Union with others in a partnership, combined with credit founded upon their intellectual and moral capital. Does either of these beginners need a bank? Certainly not. The dealer in leather, the importer, who represent the rich, will trust the shoemaker and the retailer, who represent the poor, upon no other security than intelligence, industry and integrity; and the operation of the system enriches the poor without impoverishing the rich. We will next suppose the establishment of a bank, which, upon a capital of one million of silver dollars, issues two millions of dollars in paper. Who are the borrowers? The wealthy importer, the extensive manufacturer, or jobber, or ship owner, and not the poor mechanic or retailer; the rich, and not the poor; those who can dispense with

credit, and not those who need it. What is the consequence? These men with means already ample, thus augmented, drive all smaller competitors out of the market, and monopolize its business. An importer, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, can more easily borrow fifty thousand of this bank, than any one of ten importers, each having a capital of ten thousand dollars, can borrow five thousand; and thus his business is increased by one half, and theirs diminished in the same ratio; and the system still proceeding, and the one growing richer and the ten poorer, the one finally monopolizes the importing, and drives the ten into other business. Such is the natural tendency of one bank, which can be counteracted only by a multiplication of banks, that will finally produce overtrading and revulsion. Thus the system, carried to a certain extent, produces monopoly, and this mischief can be counteracted only by pushing it to the greater mischief of revulsion. . .

[February 1, p. 2] But the banking system has greatly augmented the number of mere laborers, mere operatives, in proportion to the whole population. If twenty-five men are employed in making and selling shoes to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, at a profit of twenty-five per cent, buying leather on credit, each one's share of profit is one thousand dollars. If one can borrow one hundred thousand dollars of a bank, he can buy leather cheaper for cash, supply the same market with shoes at a profit of twenty per cent, drive all the rest out of business as makers and sellers, convert them into his own journeymen, and make a profit of fourteen thousand dollars, after paying six per cent interest on his borrowed capital. Has this been the operation of the banking system? All the wholesale shoe dealers in High street will tell us that in this business the

number of journeymen, mere operatives, and who must always remain such, increases in a far greater ratio than the master workmen, or those who combine selling with making. The same may be said of any other business which is still conducted by manipulation, or without labor-saving machinery.

6. THE AUCTION SYSTEM

Public Ledger, Sept. 4, 1843, p. 3; Sept. 8, p. 2.

To the Manufacturers of Cabinet Ware: Being a journeyman in the trade, it is with much regret I continually see advertisements in the daily papers, calling the attention of the public to sales of Cabinet Ware, asserted to be from the best manufactories of this city. I often ask myself how it can be possible that any employer can be so ignorant of his own interest as to be the means of encouraging the sale of their own work by such a ruinous practice – for it is well known that the prices of the different kinds of Furniture sold at auction, are far below the first cost. His own interest demands that he should not countenance the public sales, and more particularly he should look to the interest of the large number of workmen employed in the making of the articles sold at such a miserable sacrifice. Already, by a gradual reduction of the price of labor, the journeymen are reduced to the necessity of laboring from 12 to 14 hours per day to gain a mere subsistence. The continued practice of sending Furniture to Auction, will and must lower the price of labor, now so low that the common necessaries of life can scarcely be obtained by the workman. I now ask (in the name of all the Journeymen Cabinet makers) the employers of this city to send no more of their Furniture to Auction. If your necessities are such as to make it necessary for you to raise money on your goods, do so by selling from your Warerooms at reduced prices – even by that method you will save, at least a per centage of ten dollars per hundred, and have the chance of being able to se-

cure a better set of customers than you can possibly expect at Auction. I have understood from various sources that a large sale of Furniture is contemplated to take place in the course of this week, at the Masonic Hall. If such is true I hope all the manufacturers of Cabinet Ware will keep their Furniture from it. I feel confident if they will do so, it will be eventually for their own benefit, and for the good of the numerous body of journeymen employed in the trade. One of many Journeymen Cabinet Makers– WILLIAM H. QUIRK.
s42t*

TO THE PUBLIC: In reply to an article signed "A Journeyman Cabinet Maker," we, the undersigned, would inform the Journeymen and the public in general, that the Auctioneers of this city are not supplied with any article of Furniture direct from our warerooms, either for the purpose of contributing to their sales, or for the sake of supplying "our necessities." We are well aware that the different Auctioneers are in the habit of parading our names before the public whenever they happen to get some article of our manufacture in their auction rooms. That they happen to get sometimes a piece or two of our manufacture is true. In the course of the year we sell some thousands of dollars worth of Furniture to unknown individuals, and it would indeed be very strange if some of our Furniture did not find its way into an auction. But as for saying we supply the auction direct from our warerooms we deny it in the most unequivocal terms.

We also feel sorry to confess that it is true the wages of the journeymen are low. It is not our wish to oppress and impoverish an industrious set of men, far from it; our wish is to do right, and in our best endeavors to

do so we have injured ourselves; we have always paid fair prices for our work, and will yet continue to do so. We may also here mention, that the chief cause of the wages of the journeymen being now so much reduced is in a great measure owing to the Journeymen themselves.

Some years ago, when the trade was brisk, the Journeymen made out (and we agreed to it) a certain rule to govern the price of their labor; it continued in force until, from the hardness of the times, and the general scarcity of money, we were compelled to ask, and in fact insist on a reduction in the prices of making all of the articles sold by us. The offer was instantly rejected by the men, and they, with the view of compelling us to accede to their demands, commenced working for a set of individuals who manufactured a kind of Furniture, so miserably made, and so poorly finished, that an auction room was the only proper place to have it exhibited and sold. This small fry of employers, to enable themselves to sell their work cheap, actually gave the journeymen much lower wages than we offered. But, notwithstanding this, they continued working for such, and thereby were the direct cause of supplying the very auctions that they now complain of. In the course of time the prices given by these men became, in a great measure, the standard price of labor, and now the consequences to the workmen are very plain.

If the Journeymen will look calmly on their own interest, and to the state of the trade, they will at once see whether it is not better for them to work for a regular place of business, than to be the means of encouraging a set of men, who, for the most trifling profits, would willingly sacrifice the interests of the whole trade of Cabinet Makers.

In conclusion, we beg leave to inform the Public, that none of our Furniture will ever be found in an Auction room, coming direct from our warerooms.

RICHARD PARKIN, MOORE CAMPION, CRAWFORD RIDDELL, A. MILLER & CO., THOS. ROBERTSON, AN'Y QUERVELLE, THOS. P. SHERBORNE, CHAS. H. & JNO. F. WHITE.

7. THE PRINTERS

Report of the Committee of the Printers' Union on the State of the Trade, from the New York *Daily Tribune*, May 22, 1850, pp. 1, 2.

The Committee appointed by the "Union" to Inquire into and Report on the State of the Trade in this City, respectfully submit the following:

That this Report is prepared in accordance with a vote of this Union confirming a resolution to the following effect:

RESOLVED, that a Committee of Seven be appointed to take into consideration the state of the Trade, and have power to draft a Scale of Prices, and report as soon as possible, which was submitted by one of the members and unanimously agreed to at a regular meeting held on Saturday, April 6, 1850.

The Committee would here observe, that if the object of this Union was to represent the state of the Trade in its worst aspect it could hardly have selected a more unsuitable time, inasmuch as the Trade is at present in a state of prosperity, rare even at this time of the year, and unexampled at any other; yet even now, when the prospects of the journeymen are brighter than they usually are, and when all are willing to forget past trial and suffering in the present, and few care to look far into the future, your Committee have facts and figures to report, which fully justify this Union in instituting this inquiry, and demands some immediate measures at their hands to remedy the evils which these facts and figures prove to exist.

Your Committee have received returns from eighty-two printing-offices in this City; these returns embrace

all the daily papers, most of the weekly journals, &c. together with the principal book work and jobbing offices, and some few of the smaller ones; but we have reason to believe the total number of printing-offices in this city is not less than one hundred and fifty.

The Committee believe that the worst features of the Trade are to be found in the smaller offices, holes and corners, where boys do the work which men are wanting, and at half, or less than half, men's wages. There are a considerable number of these places scattered about the City, and although the amount of work done in each is small, the aggregate is considerable, and the effect is alike injurious to honorable employers, and to workmen. From this class of offices we could get no returns which were reliable, and we preferred to omit them altogether, rather than use such as might prove fallacious.

Thus, then, we think that we have a right to say that this Report presents only the best aspect of the Trade, and that we are warranted in saying that if such are the best features of the Printing business, it is quite time that all who feel an interest in it should be up and doing, to remove the evils under which it at present labors.

In the 82 offices from which we have received returns, there are employed about 850 journeymen and 300 boys; and the nearest estimate we can form of the entire number of persons employed in the printing business in this City is over 2,000, who may be classified thus:

Foremen 150, Compositors 1,000, Pressmen 200, Boys at case 600, Boys at press 100, girls at press 100; total, say 2,150.

In this Report we shall confine our observations chiefly to the Journeymen and Boys.

Your Committee will now proceed to point out some of the chief evils which affect the Trade.

THE VOICE OF INDUSTRY
YOUNG AMERICA!
THE WORKING MAN'S ADVOCATE.
THE PHALANX
OR
JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE
THE HERALD OF THE NEW MORAL WORLD
And Millennial Harbinger.
THE
SPIRIT OF THE AGE.
THE HARBINGER,
DEVOTED TO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS.
LOWELL OFFERING.

And first, of the Rate of Pay: we find that there is only one Office which pays 32 cents per thousand, and six which pay 30 cents;[23] from which they gradually decline downward to 17 cents. This last is not a common price, but we think we are only doing an act of simple justice in referring to one considerable Office which employs journeymen at this price, (or less, if their necessities are sharp enough to compel them thereto,) and gives them the most solid matter, even at that. But although 17 cents is not a common price, 23 cents per thousand is, and we would ask if that is a fair compensation for the toil, both mental and bodily, which a Printer must undergo? Allowing for time lost in waiting for letter, copy and proofs, in correcting extra proofs, and other unavoidable delays, compositors do not average over 5,000 per day, which will bring (not quite) $7 per week; and when the price of food, the expense of fuel, clothing and other necessaries and the enormous rate of house rent is considered, who will say that even the most prudent can save any portion of his scanty earnings for the time of sickness or debility, or to provide for his family when he shall be removed from among them.

It may here be objected that all are not paid so low, some get good wages, etc. We admit it; but if we understand the objects of this Union aright, and more particularly in its direct action in ordering this Report, it is, that all who are capable of doing a fair day's work should have a fair day's wages for doing it.

To prevent any misconception on this subject, your Committee will now show what is the average earnings of our craft.

[23] Since this Report was submitted to the "Union," the proprietors of another Office (Daily) have voluntarily advanced their prices to thirty-two cents per thousand.

Our statistics tell us that in five of the best paying offices in the City, that is to say, in those offices where men are able to earn the most money, the men average at the rate of $12.50 per week; but our statistics also tell us that those offices are Daily Paper offices, where, from the nature of the work, they are obliged to offer extra pay to tempt the very best hands in the trade to labor an average of 16 hours per day, and to expose themselves to certain premature old age, and probable early death. If proof of this were wanting, your Committee could point to a certain office (which is not a whit more unhealthy or badly managed than others) where they reckon to lose, that is, to kill, one man every eighteen months or two years. But those men whom we are addressing must have had more or less experience in these matters, and they will not for a moment dispute it; to those who have not, we will only say, we sincerely hope they may never have such experience.

We come now to the second class. These are the best workmen on the Evening and Weekly papers, and in the best Book work and Jobbing offices. The Compositors get from 25 to 29 cents per thousand, and the Pressmen from $8 to $10 per week, or an average of $9 per week, when they are in work; for it must be remembered that the printer is as subject to the fluctuation of trade as any other tradesman; and even when in work, if he has not to wait for fine weather, he has to wait for copy, for letter, for proofs, for sorts, and for many other things, each of which, taken separately, is trifling, but the total of which makes itself seen and felt in the week's earnings.

Let us now consider the condition of the third class—those whom circumstances compel to work in the meaner kind of book and job offices, and whose compensation

varies from 17 to 25 cents. These men get the lean, solid "dig;" and truly it would be better for them to dig dirt! In the fresh, pure air, with the sun shining brightly above, and the cheerful sounds and pleasant scenes of nature all around them, they could not but be happier than they are, buried in "the office" from "earliest dawn to dewy eve," even if they did earn a little less, and had less to spend in excitement.

But what do these men earn? Our statistics show that when in work their average earnings do not exceed $6 per week! which is literally less than laborers' wages. It must also be remembered that this class (which is by far the most numerous,) are more frequently out of work than any other; owing to circumstances to which we shall presently allude, they are to be had at any time, and in any quantity, thus great numbers of them are only "taken on for the job," and when the job is completed they are discharged, to be out of work perhaps longer than they were in. It will be at once perceived that this precarious description of employ reduces their earnings to a miserable pittance indeed; it deprives them of all the comforts and many of the necessaries of life, and renders life itself a mere existence, hardly worth the struggle necessary to maintain it.

We believe it was chiefly to raise this lowest class of our fellow-workmen, that this Union was formed; and it was to expose the evils under which they labor, and by bringing the light of public opinion to bear upon them, to cause them to melt away before a more liberal policy, that this Report was ordered and prepared; and we have no hesitation in saying, that if this class of the working Printers will exert themselves in this matter as they should do, great and permanent benefits will inevitably ensue.

Your Committee would here state, that from the best returns which they have been able to procure, there is an average of 300 men out of work, all the year round.

Another evil which presses heavily upon the workmen, is, Bad and Irregular Pay. In this respect New York is better than it has been, but there is still plenty of room for improvement; and we feel convinced that we have only to point out this evil and (in some cases) it will be remedied. In the returns in the hands of your Committee, the offices marked as "Bad Pay," that is, offices in which the workmen are doubtful if they will ever get their pay, are but few; but those marked "Irregular," are quite too numerous. By "Irregular" we distinguish those offices which have the means of paying in full every week, but preferring their own interests to those of their employees, "pay once a fortnight," and then pay only in part, and always in Country Bills.

A word or two on the "Good Pay," that is, those offices which pay in full, every Saturday, and in Gold, Silver and in good Bills which are taken in the way of trade, whether City Bills or not. Most of the Daily Papers, many of the Weeklies, and some few of the Book and Job Offices, come under this head, and they are now sufficiently numerous to make the "Irregular" paying offices appear the more odious, and the men who work in them the more discontented thereat.

The workingman generally knows by sad experience that if he does not receive his money when it is due, he must go for what he wants on credit, and he also knows that when he gets things on credit he either gets worse articles, or he pays more for them, than if he purchased them for cash. This makes him discontented, he considers himself wronged, and defrauded of his "hard earned penny fee;" and it is ten to one if his employer does not in the long run lose more by his workman's

concealed dissatisfaction than he has gained by the wrongful use of his money.

There is another practice which prevails in some offices, and to which, as it causes much dissatisfaction, we think we should not be doing our duty if we did not direct your attention; we allude to the unfair distribution of copy.

This Committee does not allege this as a general thing; quite the reverse, but we have returns before us which show that the practice is carried on in some offices to an extent to which we can only apply the word Disgraceful. Without going very far, we could point out an office, in which all the Poetry, and work of like character, is given to the two-thirders, the leaded matter to the hands on time, while the solid invariably falls to the piece hands.

In other cases it assumes the shape of Favoritism, and certain men who are noted for their amenity of manners, and plasticity of sentiments, to the Foreman, always get the fat, while others, men who think civility is preferable to servility, have to take the refuse.

These and a variety of minor grievances, react on the employers in a way, which as they do not always feel the effects immediately, they are too apt to overlook; although they are sure to find it out (to their cost) in the long run. We allude to the fact, that every now and then one of their best and steadiest workmen, worn out and disgusted by continual toil, and the scanty remuneration he receives, makes a great effort, and getting together a few materials, he goes to work for himself. Here, then, is another rival, another competitor for "public patronage," and it is a long odds but he repays the wrongs which he had received from his former employer, by getting away some of his custom, by underbidding him.

Many of these small employers, after using any and every means to keep themselves afloat, (and injuring the trade as much as they are able), go down; and either return to the ranks, or leave the city to try elsewhere; but there are more who keep up, and for many years hang about the skirts of the trade, picking up stray jobs here and there, taking them for any price they can get, and occasionally entering into competition with the larger employers, sometimes succeed in reducing his prices, without in any way benefiting themselves.

All these evils might have been avoided by the employers pursuing a more liberal policy towards their employees. There are few working men who would risk the toil and cares of "an employer," and the probable failure, and the loss which that failure necessarily involves, if they were satisfied with their present situation. If employers would look this matter in the face, and endeavor to make those who suit them satisfied with their present situations, there would be less Printing Offices, but more paying ones.

Having thus pointed out some of the most prominent evils which afflict our trade, it may not be deemed inexpedient to point out some of the chief causes of them, so that knowing the causes, we may be the better able to apply an efficient remedy.

That the supply of any article always regulates the price of that article, is an axiom seldom disputed; and that this axiom applies to labor, as much as to anything or marketable commodity, few will be disposed to deny. Thus, when, there can be no dispute, that the present low rate of wages is the natural consequence of the superabundance of labor in the market, and your Committee are of the opinion that this superabundance of labor is chiefly caused by the present wholesale system of putting boys to the business, for we cannot call it ap-

prenticing them, an indentured apprentice being almost (if not quite) unknown in New York City.

Let us briefly state how boys are usually brought into the business, and how the thing works: An employer has taken a work at a very low rate, (to prevent someone else getting it at a fair rate,) and, to make it pay, he must take on two or three extra boys. Very well—some of the boys about the place are asked "How would they like to work at case, and have all they can earn?" California on a small scale rises on their enraptured vision, and another hour sees them mounted on a type box, with "stick" in hand, busily engaged in putting a case in pi. The first six hours it is fine fun for them—the next six days it is a perfect nuisance to them, and they are a perfect nuisance to all around them—within the first six months they become remarkably clever, and after that it is doubtful whether the employer would profit or lose by their running away.

The novelty of the thing is now over; it is all labor, and they soon get discontented with the pittance they receive, and hearing that others get more than they do, they run away, there being nothing to prevent them, and great facilities for travel. They soon get work at one half or two thirds of their earnings, (this sort of lads are sure of work from those selfish employers who care not what means they use to accomplish their end,) and after working a few years for a fraction of their earnings, they are thrown out of employ to make room for fresh victims of the cupidity of the employer.

This system is continually going on; boys going from one office and from one part of the country to another, are objects of no solicitude to anyone. The employer says, "If they stay with me, good—I shall get so much out of them; if they go away, I must get so many more in place of them." The workman's only interest is

against them; it is not likely that he will take any pains to make them good workmen, lest they should cut his own throat hereafter; so the literally unfortunate boy learns little or nothing during the time he is (supposed to be) an apprentice, and unless he happens to have intellect enough to learn the printing business in a hat factory, he bids fair to be turned into the trade as a bad workman, and thus, in another mode, inflict a fresh and more permanent injury on the trade, as we shall see hereafter.

No practical Printer will dispute the fact that there are a great number of young men "just out of their time," who know nothing beyond mere composition, and have, in fact, to learn their trade when they are journeymen. Your Committee have information of boys having been put to a work when they first went to the business, and never worked on any other until they were out; they never made up a page, or imposed a form—hardly corrected their own matter. When these young men became (by the lapse of time) journeymen, what were they fit for? Just what they are! the means of cutting down the wages of better workmen than themselves, by giving mean employers the excuse, "Oh! we can't afford to give more to such inferior workmen," and "Oh! we can't give more to one than to another, it would cause such constant grumbling and dissatisfaction in the office."

Beside these evils, which may be considered as indirect, the great number of boys taken into the trade acts directly in keeping men out, and in bringing far more men into the business than is necessary for the work there is to do.

Let us give an illustration of each of these modes of direct injury. One illustration shall serve for both.

There is a large Office in this City which has been established many years, and has turned out an immense quantity of cheap and some very good works. The employers have made large fortunes by the assistance of the industry and intellect of working men. They are religious men; they are accounted honorable men, and the friends of the working classes; and we sincerely believe they are so, where their interests and the interests of the working classes do not clash. Nay more, we sincerely believe that the principals of this establishment are more the friends of the working man than some of their underlings; and that they are willing to do more for them than those who have just left the ranks, we are willing to admit. But what is the state of this office? Our statistics show that there are 20 boys to 23 men employed in their composing department.

Now if we give 20 years as the average life of a Printer after the expiration of his apprenticeship, and five years as the average term which these boys serve, we shall find that by the time the 23 men are removed from "the struggle of life," there are 80 to replace them, and although the printing business has increased greatly of late years, yet we have no right to expect that it will ever increase in that ratio.

If we reckon that three of these lads do about two men's work, then we also remember that these 20 boys keep 14 men out of work all the time, and thus do a double injury to the journeymen; first, by keeping him out of work at present, and second, by lessening his chance of work for the future.

Your Committee cannot help thinking that if this matter were fairly laid before this and other similar establishments, the employers might be induced to make a considerable change in this matter, more especially if

we could show (as we propose presently to do) that boys are not so profitable to their employers as many of them imagine.

Nor need employers fear that any restrictions which they might make in their offices, would ever have the effect of causing a scarcity of hands, or a difficulty in procuring a sufficiency of men to do the work in any emergency which might arise. There are always enough boys brought into the trade by country offices, and the holes and corners to which we before alluded, to amply supply the cities, and a trifle over.

Before quitting this most important part of our subject, we would say a few words as to the profit derived from boys' labor. Your Committee do sincerely believe that if employers, who are conscientious men, could really know the time that is lost by men, on time, in instructing them, (where they are instructed,) in correcting their errors, in preventing and repairing their mischief or neglect, and in making good their deficiencies; the injury done to, and frequently wanton waste of materials; the room they occupy, and the very inconsiderable amount of work done by them, when on time – they would not inflict such a positive and serious injury on their workmen for such a very trifling benefit to themselves.

There is another point of view in which the boy system appears a positive loss to the large employers. It is this: By their taking such a number of boys, they sanction and uphold a system which injures them (in proportion) as much as it does the journeymen; for let them take as many boys as they will, the small employers will take more, (proportionately,) and let them pay as little as they may, the small employer will pay less. Our statistics show us that one of these small employers (small in every respect) pays his boys one dollar per

week, while another rewards their overwork (hours stolen from the season of their natural rest) with the munificent sum of 6¼ cents per thousand!

Such offices as those we previously alluded to can never compete with such holes and corners as these latter. They would be ashamed to offer such prices, and ashamed to employ those who would take them.

Then why not unite with us to put down this infamous system, a system alike injurious to all who wish to act honestly, and receive a fair compensation for either the capital employed or the labor bestowed? It is to the interest of every printer to keep his profession a little above starvation mark; and this can only be done by using every means within his power to put down the present system of reckless and desperate competition.

Another cause of the present low rate of pay is the great number of bad and floating workmen with which our city abounds. We have already pointed out how some of these are brought into the trade, and how they operate to reduce prices; but New York has not all this evil to answer for; a great number of bad and floating workmen come to this city from all parts of the Union, and the World; and these latter form the very worst kind of workmen, for as they generally come nearly destitute of resources, and quite destitute of friends, and as unfortunately they must eat and sleep somewhere, they fall easy victims to those who are always on the look out for such, and take anything that is offered them. These extreme low prices then become "the established scale of prices" in that office, and if any good and respectable workman be forced, by adverse circumstances, to work therein, he must also succumb, or be out of work when he can least afford it.

But perhaps the chief cause of the present low rate of remuneration, and all the other evils which affect our

trade, is the unaccountable apathy and indifference of the workmen themselves. To describe it minutely would be a work of supererogation; all must be aware of it—most must feel it in themselves; and we might pass it altogether if it were not for the hope that some might be aroused sufficiently to awake to the necessity of speaking out now, or forever after holding their peace.

In this hope your Committee would respectfully but earnestly ask every journeyman printer, First, If the statements in this Report are not strictly true? Second, If the present state of things is desirable, or as it should be? Third, If he expects that it will get better of itself, or that employers will make it better for our especial benefit? Fourth, If he has any right to expect that his fellow workmen are to do all the work, that he may reap the benefit without even putting forth his hand to help or assist? Fifth, Or rather, if he is not determined that from this moment he will devote all his best energies to the regeneration of his once honored, and always honorable, (because in the highest degree useful) craft, and strive to work out its salvation, without fear or trembling, but with the fixed resolution to leave the trade at least a little better than he found it?

If the Journeymen Printers will do this generally, each one for himself, and quite irrespective of "What are the others going to do?" our work will be easy, and our triumph complete. Remember that the assistance we ask is so small on your part, and so replete with benefits to yourselves that it is directly to your interest to render it. We recommend no Strike; on the contrary, we deprecate all violent measures. Our weapons must be Moral Suasion, and combined and vigorous Action, by ourselves and for ourselves. If they wish good to themselves, let them come up with us and help us.

Your Committee having thus pointed out the more

prominent grievances of the Trade, and what they conceive to be the chief causes of them, will now endeavor to indicate such remedies as appear best calculated to eradicate them.

We will first speak of the immediate or present remedies, and afterward of what we believe to be the only ultimate and real remedy, for the evils which must always exist, to a greater or lesser extent, in the relations of employer and employé.

First, a uniform Scale of Prices. The advantages of the general adoption of such a Scale would be: To the Journeymen it would secure a uniformity of payments, which would render his earnings a matter of certainty instead of doubt. Under such a Scale his remuneration would depend on his own exertions instead of the office in which he might happen to work, and it would prevent that heart-burning and discontent which he cannot help but feel when compelled to labor for less than he has been acustomed to receive.

To the honorable Employer such a Scale would be of still more value, as its tendency would be to destroy the present system of competition, which not only cuts down Journeymen's wages, but also Employers' profits. If all were compelled to pay one uniform price for the same kind of labor, all would be on an equal footing in their attempts to get work; and their respective success and profit would depend on their own energy, skill, and business capabilities, rather than on their capability of screwing down men to the lowest possible price, and filling their offices with boys.

Second, by Reducing the Number of Apprentices. This should be done by the mutual agreement of the employers and the men. The employers might get rid of their worst boys, and employ good and efficient men (who would earn their money) instead. Those boys

who are kept, should be bound by Indenture, or legal instrument, which would compel them to serve a certain number of years at the business. They should be placed, at the commencement of their time, under some experienced workman, who should have some interest in the proficiency of the Apprentice, and who would then do his best to make him a good and capable workman, fit to go into any office.

Your Committee believe that such an arrangement as the above would be advantageous – To the employer, by giving him a few good steady Apprentices, on whom he could depend while in his office, and of whom he would not be ashamed when they went out of it. To the men, by reducing the number of boys, and making those who are to be their fellow workmen more fit to be so. And to the Apprentices themselves it would be of incalculable benefit; for instead of having to wander from office to office, picking up, here a little and there a little, of that knowledge and information which is now always given grudgingly, and as though it were a direct robbery of the men, they would then be regularly bound to some respectable employer, who would be bound to teach them (or cause them to be taught) their trade. They would be placed under the care and instruction of some experienced workman, who would feel an interest and take a pride in their welfare and proficiency. They would be recognized by all who knew them as having a right to work at the business; and when they had completed their term of apprenticeship, they would have their Indenture to serve as a certificate of their right to work at the business wherever they might go.

Third, the Establishment of Chapels in the Offices. The "Chapel" is the best and least objectionable mode of regulating the internal affairs of the Office, and settling disagreements between employers and men which

can possibly be devised. The "Chapel" is a meeting of all the Journeymen (and the Apprentices in the last year of their time), who elect one of their number as "Father," who presides over their meetings, and (except on extraordinary occasions), acts as their spokesman. The Chapel may meet at certain fixed times, or may be called together in the office at any time, or in any emergency, by the Father (or by two or three Journeymen signifying their wish, or the necessity for a Chapel,) to consider and settle any business which may arise which concerns the men generally.

Employers who might object to the general body of Printers legislating for "their offices," cannot reasonably object to their own workmen, (who are immediately concerned,) meeting together, and having a voice in matters in which they have so great an interest.

To the men, too, it is of the greatest importance, for it is well known that many things may be corrected and satisfactorily adjusted, when it is known to be the wish of all, which would be utterly neglected if mentioned by one or two. As an illustration of this, your Committee are of the opinion that "Irregular Pay" might very soon become "Good Pay," in most Offices, if the men would unitedly lay the matter before the employer. Unfair Distribution of Copy and Favoritism might also be adjusted in the same way; and a number of other grievances, which might prevail in certain Offices, might thus be corrected by the men working in those Offices, without going out of them.

The Chapel should also frame a set of rules for the government of the men in the Office, for the prevention of unfair conduct toward each other; and ordain a Schedule of Fines, to be levied for the infraction of the rules. Such fines to be appropriated as the Chapel might direct. Such laws being made and enforced by

the men themselves, and being for their own benefit and comfort, would be more strictly observed than any could be which were made by the Employer.

"The Chapel" is a very old institution, dating its existence from the first Printing Office established in England, which was in a Chapel (from which it derives its name) attached to Westminster Abbey. It is in universal use in all large towns and cities in Great Britain, where it is of the greatest service in settling the internal affairs of the Office, and its authority is seldom questioned or defied.

Chapels were in general use in New Orleans a few years since, where they also exercised a most beneficial influence on the trade, but owing to a variety of causes, they have dwindled away considerably of late, and prices have dwindled with them.

Fourth, the Efforts of this Union with the Employers. Your Committee are decidedly of the opinion that many of the grievances which the trade at present labors under, might be removed or mitigated, by a respectful and reasonable remonstrance to the Employers, made through a Committee of this Union. Your Committee in the course of its labors has found a disposition to adopt any measures calculated to benefit the trade, quite as general among the Employers as among the men. Several have already expressed a readiness to pay any Scale of Prices which the Trade may adopt, provided its adoption be general; and we are of opinion that if a fair and reasonable Scale of Prices is adopted by this Union, there are very few among the fair and honorable Employers who will refuse to be governed by it.

Fifth, the Efforts of the Men. This, which should be the first, we have placed last, for the simple reason that we feel the greatest difficulty in knowing what to say on this subject. To your Committee it appears strange,

nay, perfectly unnatural, that there should be any necessity to say anything to urge men to attend to their own interests; and it is only by observing the short-sighted view which working men generally take of their own interests that we can account for the fact that men will go early and stop late; that they will toil and work themselves to death for others' interests; and yet will not bestow an hour or two once in a fortnight for their own; they will be continually grumbling at what they term wrongs, and yet will never make a single effort to remove them.

If your Committee thought it necessary, or that it would be conducive to the interests of the Trade, they would here introduce a whole string of claptrap and stereotyped maxims, with which "leaders" are wont to amuse the people, such as, "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." "Union is strength," etc., but they do not; and they will simply observe to their fellow-workmen, that if they want a thing done, they must at least help to do it. If they want their wagon out of the rut it is in at present, they must put their shoulders to the wheel, for we are quite certain that it is only those who help themselves who either are, or deserve to be helped.

Such are the means which your Committee recommend for the present or temporary relief of our Craft. The ultimate and only radical cure, we believe to be, the Establishment of Joint Stock Printing Offices, or in other words, Printing Offices owned and worked by practical working-men—Offices in which all the men who work in them shall have an immediate and pecuniary interest; Offices, in short, where every man shall feel that he is working for himself, and not for another. That such Offices can be established by the combined efforts of workingmen, the workmen of France in a con-

siderable number of instances, and the workmen of Germany, England and latterly of America, have proved: and that they can be efficiently and profitably conducted, might be positively asserted, (even if we had no experience to guide us,) from some simple and undeniable facts – facts on which we would recommend all to ponder; namely, that all large establishments have to trust to workingmen for the proper working of all the departments; that nearly all large establishments were originally small ones; and, that the most successful and best conducted Offices in this city, are conducted by those who were originally workingmen!

If these propositions can be denied, our whole design falls to the ground, our whole labor is vain, and workingmen must be contented to be the slaves of capitalists forever; but if it be true that workingmen can successfully conduct business for others, then we assert that they can conduct it as successfully and even more profitably for themselves. The question now arises, will they do it? It is for themselves to answer.

It is for us now briefly to recapitulate the main points of this Report, and close.

Thus, then, your Committee report that notwithstanding the state of the Trade is much better now than it usually is, there is a great and just cause of complaint of –

The exceedingly low rate of pay; irregular and bad pay; unfair distribution of Copy, and Favoritism; the great number of boys; bad and floating workmen; the apathy and indifference of the workmen.

And they recommend as Present Remedies: a uniform Scale of Prices; the reduction of the number of Boys; the establishment of Chapels; the efforts of the Union with the Employers; the efforts of the men. For

an Ultimate Remedy: The establishment of Joint Stock Printing Offices by the Workingmen.

And now regretting that this Report could not have been rendered more complete in its statistics, and more worthy of your acceptance in all its features, it is respectfully submitted to you.

HENRY J. CRATE, EDWARD CUTTLE,
C. WALTER COLBURN, H. A. GUILD, W. L. STUBBS,
RICHARD CROOKER, WM. KILDARE.

May 18, 1850.

8. THE FACTORY SYSTEM

(a) A VISIT BY AN ASSOCIATIONIST

The *Harbinger*, Nov. 14, 1846, p. 366.

. . . We have lately visited the cities of Lowell and Manchester, and have had an opportunity of examining the factory system more closely than before. We had distrusted the accounts, which we had heard from persons engaged in the Labor Reform, now beginning to agitate New England; we could scarcely credit the statements made in relation to the exhausting nature of the labor in the mills, and to the manner in which the young women, the operatives, lived in their boarding-houses, six sleeping in a room, poorly ventilated.

We went through many of the mills, talked particularly to a large number of the operatives, and ate at their boarding-houses, on purpose to ascertain by personal inspection the facts of the case. We assure our readers that very little information is possessed, and no correct judgments formed, by the public at large, of our factory system, which is the first germ of the Industrial or Commercial Feudalism, that is to spread over our land. . .

In Lowell live between seven and eight thousand young women, who are generally daughters of farmers of the different States of New England; some of them are members of families that were rich the generation before. . .

The operatives work thirteen hours a day in the summer time, and from daylight to dark in the winter. At half past four in the morning the factory bell rings, and at five the girls must be in the mills. A clerk, placed as

a watch, observes those who are a few minutes behind the time, and effectual means are taken to stimulate to punctuality. This is the morning commencement of the industrial discipline – (should we not rather say industrial tyranny?) which is established in these Associations of this moral and Christian community. At seven the girls are allowed thirty minutes for breakfast, and at noon thirty minutes more for dinner, except during the first quarter of the year, when the time is extended to forty-five minutes. But within this time they must hurry to their boarding-houses and return to the factory, and that through the hot sun, or the rain and cold. A meal eaten under such circumstances must be quite unfavorable to digestion and health, as any medical man will inform us. At seven o'clock in the evening the factory bell sounds the close of the day's work.

Thus thirteen hours per day of close attention and monotonous labor are exacted from the young women in these manufactories. . . So fatigued – we should say, exhausted and worn out, but we wish to speak of the system in the simplest language – are numbers of the girls, that they go to bed soon after their evening meal, and endeavor by a comparatively long sleep to resuscitate their weakened frames for the toils of the coming day. When Capital has got thirteen hours of labor daily out of a being, it can get nothing more. It would be a poor speculation in an industrial point of view to own the operative; for the trouble and expense of providing for times of sickness and old age would more than counterbalance the difference between the price of wages and the expense of board and clothing. The far greater number of fortunes, accumulated by the North in comparison with the South, shows that hireling labor is more profitable for Capital than slave labor.

Now let us examine the nature of the labor itself, and

the conditions under which it is performed. Enter with us into the large rooms, when the looms are at work. The largest that we saw is in the Amoskeag Mills at Manchester. It is four hundred feet long, and about seventy broad; there are five hundred looms, and twenty-one thousand spindles in it. The din and clatter of these five hundred looms under full operation, struck us on first entering as something frightful and infernal, for it seemed such an atrocious violation of one of the faculties of the human soul, the sense of hearing. After a while we became somewhat inured to it, and by speaking quite close to the ear of an operative and quite loud, we could hold a conversation, and make the inquiries we wished.

The girls attend upon an average three looms; many attend four, but this requires a very active preson, and the most unremitting care. However, a great many do it. Attention to two is as much as should be demanded of an operative. This gives us some idea of the application required during the thirteen hours of daily labor. The atmosphere of such a room cannot of course be pure; on the contrary it is charged with cotton filaments and dust, which, we were told, are very injurious to the lungs. On entering the room, although the day was warm, we remarked that the windows were down; we asked the reason, and a young woman answered very naively, and without seeming to be in the least aware that this privation of fresh air was anything else than perfectly natural, that "when the wind blew, the threads did not work so well." After we had been in the room for fifteen or twenty minutes, we found ourselves, as did the persons who accompanied us, in quite a perspiration, produced by a certain moisture which we observed in the air, as well as by the heat. . .

The young women sleep upon an average six in a

room; three beds to a room. There is no privacy, no retirement here; it is almost impossible to read or write alone, as the parlor is full and so many sleep in the same chamber. A young woman remarked to us, that if she had a letter to write, she did it on the head of a band-box, sitting on a trunk, as there was not space for a table. So live and toil the young women of our country in the boarding-houses and manufactories, which the rich and influential of our land have built for them.

The Editor of the *Courier and Enquirer* has often accused the Associationists of wishing to reduce men "to herd together like beasts of the field." We would ask him whether he does not find as much of what may be called "herding together" in these modern industrial Associations, established by men of his own kidney, as he thinks would exist in one of the Industrial Phalanxes, which we propose. . .

(b) FACTORY RULES

Handbook to Lowell (1848), p. 42-44.

REGULATIONS TO BE OBSERVED by all persons employed in the factories of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company. The overseers are to be always in their rooms at the starting of the mill, and not absent unnecessarily during working hours. They are to see that all those employed in their rooms, are in their places in due season, and keep a correct account of their time and work. They may grant leave of absence to those employed under them, when they have spare hands to supply their places, and not otherwise, except in cases of absolute necessity.

All persons in the employ of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, are to observe the regulations of the room where they are employed. They are not to be

absent from their work without the consent of the overseer, except in cases of sickness, and then they are to send him word of the cause of their absence. They are to board in one of the houses of the company and give information at the counting room, where they board, when they begin, or, whenever they change their boarding place; and are to observe the regulations of their boarding-house.

Those intending to leave the employment of the company, are to give at least two weeks' notice thereof to their overseer.

All persons entering into the employment of the company, are considered as engaged for twelve months, and those who leave sooner, or do not comply with all these regulations, will not be entitled to a regular discharge.

The company will not employ any one who is habitually absent from public worship on the Sabbath, or known to be guilty of immorality.

A physician will attend once in every month at the counting-room, to vaccinate all who may need it, free of expense.

Any one who shall take from the mills or the yard, any yarn, cloth or other article belonging to the company, will be considered guilty of stealing and be liable to prosecution.

Payment will be made monthly, including board and wages. The accounts will be made up to the last Saturday but one in every month, and paid in the course of the following week.

These regulations are considered part of the contract, with which all persons entering into the employment of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, engage to comply.

JOHN AVERY, Agent.

(c) BOARDING-HOUSE RULES

Handbook to Lowell (1848), p. 45, 46.

REGULATIONS FOR THE BOARDING-HOUSES of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company. The tenants of the boarding-houses are not to board, or permit any part of their houses to be occupied by any person, except those in the employ of the company, without special permission.

They will be considered answerable for any improper conduct in their houses, and are not to permit their boarders to have company at unseasonable hours.

The doors must be closed at ten o'clock in the evening, and no person admitted after that time, without some reasonable excuse.

The keepers of the boarding-houses must give an account of the number, names and employment of their boarders, when required, and report the names of such as are guilty of any improper conduct, or are not in the regular habit of attending public worship.

The buildings, and yards about them, must be kept clean and in good order; and if they are injured, otherwise than from ordinary use, all necessary repairs will be made, and charged to the occupant.

The sidewalks, also, in front of the houses, must be kept clean, and free from snow, which must be removed from them immediately after it has ceased falling; if neglected, it will be removed by the company at the expense of the tenant.

It is desirable that the families of those who live in the houses, as well as the boarders, who have not had the kine pox, should be vaccinated, which will be done at the expense of the company, for such as wish it.

Some suitable chamber in the house must be reserved, and appropriated for the use of the sick, so that others

may not be under the necessity of sleeping in the same room. JOHN AVERY, Agent.

(d) BOARDING-HOUSE KEEPERS

Voice of Industry (Lowell, Mass.), Nov. 14, 1845, p. 3, col. 2; from the Cabotville (Mass.,) *Chronicle.*

The following are some of the transactions from the Cabotville *Chronicle*:

We, the people of Cabotville, who are the keepers of boarding houses, on the lands belonging to the several corporations, finding by two years experience, that we were only not making anything, but actually running behind, fast, besides wearing out our beds and household furniture, and having waited until our patience had become exhausted, and our credit in danger, to see if those, who were receiving the benefit of our sacrifice and also the benefit of that which is well calculated to take care of the rich at the expense of the consumer, would not consider us, and so far raise the price of the board of the operatives, that we might by good economy, and unwearied industry, obtain a comfortable living; but we at length come to the conclusion, that if we obtained any help from that source, we must ask for it. Accordingly on the 25th of October last, we presented to the Agents of the three corporations, a petition signed by some fifty of the Boarding House Keepers, of which the following is a true copy:

To the President, Directors and Agents of the Manufacturing Companies in Cabotville:

We the undersigned, keepers of boarding houses, on the lands of the corporations would respectfully represent that in the most favorable time and under the most auspicious circumstances, that the price paid for board was hardly sufficient to pay the first cost of provision, rent, and wear and tear of furniture, to say nothing of

the unrecompensed toil which our wives and daughters must endure; much more is true now, when all kinds of produce provision and groceries have greatly advanced in price, that the rate of board is utterly insufficient to afford us a mere living, though we rise early and sit up late, and eat the bread of extreme carefulness. We therefore most respectfully, yet most earnestly ask you so far to raise the price of board, that the keepers of your boarding houses, with hard labor and parsimonious economy, may live and not die.

Whereupon, on the first day of November inst., at 7 o'clock, p.m., a meeting was held at Ferry's Hall, by the Petitioners, to take the subject matter of the Petition into consideration. James Ingalls was chosen Moderator, and A. Alvord Secretary. After some debate on the subject, by several members, it was voted to choose a committee, of one from each corporation, to confer with one or more of the Agents on the subject, and ascertain what course they had taken in regard to the subject of the petition, and report at a future meeting.

Voted to adjourn the Meeting to Monday, Nov. 3, in Ferry's Hall, at half past 7 o'clock, p.m.

Monday, Nov. 3. Met according to adjournment. The committee reported that they had called on one of the agents according to their mission, and ascertained that the subject matter of the Petition had been laid before Mr. Mills of Boston, who decided that there was no cause existing, whereby the price of board should be advanced. After some remarks by several individuals the committee presented the following Preamble and Resolution, which being duly considered, were unanimously adopted, as expressing the views of the members present:

Whereas, finding that after having used all the

means in our power to obtain our rights, by requests and petitions, we are still neglected, we deem it due to ourselves, to the community, to justice and humanity, to express our feelings in relation to inequalities which now exist in the community; that those of our fellow beings who have not as yet been led astray by a vain hope of bettering their condition by taking a factory boarding house, may count the cost before they enlist, and so avoid the lamentation which we have to make – "The summer is ended and we are in debt." And also to induce if possible, those who have it in their power so far to order things in relation to our condition, as to do honor to themselves, and justice to us, that we may, by rigid economy, meet our lawful demands, and live as men in the world.

Therefore, resolved, that by three, four, six and eight years' experience, which we have had in keeping boarding houses in this village, we do know that it is impracticable and impossible to support ourselves unless we resort to unjust measures, either of which would be the height of injustice.

2. RESOLVED, that in our opinion the time has come when the causes which produced the depression of board is done away; that no reason exists why we should not with other classes of our fellow men, experience the benefit of the times, which is causing almost every other class to rejoice.

3. RESOLVED, that we do still most respectfully request those who have it in their power to control the price of board on their corporations, to take into consideration, and do us that justice which we have a right to expect from men of magnanimity, enterprise and noble minds.

Voted to adjourn to Monday, the 17th inst., at 8 o'clock, p.m.

JAMES INGALLS, President – A. ALVORD, Sec'y.

(e) OBTAINING OPERATIVES

Voice of Industry, Jan. 2, 1846; quoted from the Cabotville *Chronicle*.

. . . We were not aware until within a few days, of the *modus operandi* of the Factory powers in this village, of forcing poor girls from their quiet homes, to become their tools, and like the southern slaves, to give up her life and liberty to the heartless tyrants and task-masters. Observing a singular looking, "long, low, black" wagon passing along the street, we made inquiries respecting it, and were informed that it was what we term "a slaver." She makes regular trips to the north of the state, cruising around in Vermont and New Hampshire, with a "commander" whose heart must be as black as his craft, who is paid a dollar a head, for all he brings to the market, and more in proportion to the distance – If they bring them from such a distance that they cannot easily get back. This is done by "hoisting false colors," and representing to the girls, that they can tend more machinery than is possible, and that the work is so very neat, and the wages such, that they can dress in silks and spend half their time in reading. Now, is this true? Let those girls who have been thus deceived, answer.

Let us say a word in regard to the manner in which they are stowed, in the wagon, which may find a similarity only in the manner in which slaves are fastened in the hold of a vessel. It is long, and the seats so close that it must be very inconvenient. Is there any humanity in this? Philanthropists may talk of negro slavery, but it would be well first to endeavor to emancipate the slaves at home. Let us not stretch our ears to catch the sound of the lash on the flesh of the oppressed black while the oppressed in our very midst are crying out in thunder tones, and calling upon us for assistance.

(f) A LABOR VIEW OF RHODE ISLAND FACTORIES

Voice of Industry, Sept. 18, 1846. Letter from the Editor.

I have just closed a course of lectures in Blackstone, a town set off from Mendon last winter, and containing three factory villages. I had no idea of the extent of factory operations on the brave little river from which this town derived its name. All the way between Worcester and Providence it is tugging at the wheels of Corporations, and summons its thousands of operatives to serve and slave under its despotism of machinery.

And I have seen no factory tyranny in Lowell, nor anywhere else in New England, that would compare with that existing on this river, especially in Rhode Island. The Algerine revolution and the new constitution have destroyed what little freedom there once was in this little State. By a provision in the constitution, no foreigner is allowed to vote, unless he owns a hundred and thirty-four dollars' worth of dirt! The result of this rule is, to induce the manufacturer to turn off the native citizens and employ foreigners in their stead. As corporations have monopolized the waterfall, and all the lands and houses surrounding them, there is but little chance for a foreigner to become a voter. And if the American citizen votes contrary to the will of his employer, he very quietly tells him, "we want your tenement;" and he, with his dependent family is driven into the streets to beg, unless he is fortunate enough to get a situation and employment in some other place.

I was informed by the Postmaster of Woonsocket, that the character of the population in that village had entirely changed since the adoption of the new constitution. So many persons, he remarked, have moved in from other countries, that cannot write or read, that it makes a difference in the income of the Post Office of

some hundreds of dollars per year. And in conversation, in stage coaches and in the streets, you seemingly hear more persons speak in a foreign accent, than in the "Yankee tongue."

Besides, our system of "protection" contributes to increase the number of foreign laborers. The tariff closes the avenues for the sale of foreign labor; for example, shut out French boots, and invites to our shores French boot makers. It shuts out English texture, lessens the demand for labor abroad, and brings to our country English bones and sinews to be wrought up into American texture. Thus wages are reduced in Europe, and by competition with foreign operatives in our own manufactories, are cut down to nearly the same level at home. The tariff enables a few manufacturers and monopolists to get rich by the premium paid on American productions, by the producers themselves; but it does not better, in the least, the condition of the American operative. It is a protection to capital and monopoly, but not to the laboring classes, whether native or foreign.

These causes combined have brought into Rhode Island a large foreign population. . . The manufacturers of Rhode Island seem to prefer foreign laborers, not only because there is no prospect of their exercising the right of suffrage, but because being strangers and more dependent than native operatives, they are more submissive under corporation tyranny. And the factory despotism is therefore increasing here faster than in any other portion of New England. . .

II

OWENISM AND ASSOCIATION

INTRODUCTION

Association, Fourierism, Agrarianism, Socialism, and Community System were names indiscriminately applied to the various movements for social reform which agitated this country during the decade of the forties. Socialism during the early forties meant the community of property advocated by Robert Owen. Owen's return to this country, after an absence of fifteen years was signalized by a number of "addresses" to the American people, which explain his meaning of Socialism. The word Communism had not yet come into general use. Later Socialism came to be applied to any scheme of social organization other than the competitive. The followers of Charles Fourier called themselves Associationists. They objected to Fourierism, as their doctrines were termed by opponents, because not all that Charles Fourier taught was acceptable to them. In fact much of that Frenchman's philosophy was distasteful to his American disciples, and some of it they confessed themselves unable to comprehend. They espoused Fourier's system of industrial organization, and this they called Association.

Fourierism in the United States took on an aspect quite different from that which the movement assumed in European countries. No sooner had the doctrine of association become known to the American people through the newspapers than they wanted to test it by practical experiments. Fourier had waited many years in vain, in Paris, for the capitalist to appear who would furnish the means necessary to found an Association on

a sufficiently large scale to test his system. In the United States, three years after Brisbane began to publish his articles on association in the New York *Tribune*, some twenty Associations had already been started. "For this phase of the movement," said Brisbane,[24] "I was quite unprepared, for I had contemplated years of patient, careful propagation before the means of a single Association could be obtained. I felt it would require a large amount of capital, and a thorough knowledge of the science of organization, to ensure success. I felt, too, my own practical incapacity in so great an undertaking, and advised the most methodical preparation in advance. But the different groups formed over the country were impatient: the principles seemed to them plain and easy, and in spite of remonstrance they formed their little Associations."

The West Roxbury Community, founded by George Ripley at the suggestion of Dr. Channing, became the most famous of these Associations. At first a mere attempt of a few kindred spirits to put a new conception of Christianity into practice, it was later transformed into the Brook Farm Phalanx and became the center of the whole Association movement in the United States. Its lecturers preached the doctrine throughout the land. It sent delegates to working men's conventions and took part in their movements for shorter hours and Land Reform. It edited and published the *Harbinger*, and it was the headquarters of the American Union of Associationists.

While the Brook Farm Phalanx attracted the greatest amount of attention because of the prominence of its members, the two Associations which were best suited to test the doctrines of Fourier were the Wisconsin and the North American Phalanxes. The former was com-

[24] Brisbane, R. *Albert Brisbane: a Mental Biography* (Boston, 1893), 212.

posed of western pioneers, men who had pushed their way into the wild Territory, and had succeeded; for they had acquired property which they put into the Association. They were less interested, however, in proving the truth of Fourier's philosophy, than they were concerned in profiting by the economies which Association promised. On the other hand, the members of the North American Phalanx, though less practical, were more likely to give Fourier a fair test. This Phalanx lasted twice as long as the Wisconsin Association; and toward the latter part of its existence it counted among its members many who had seen several communities fail and yet had not lost their enthusiasm. Nevertheless, in this as well as in the more western community do we find that one of the most important causes of its failure was that the members took their capital out of the Association and invested in other undertakings which were more profitable. To the capitalist, therefore, Association seemed to offer no advantage.

To the laborer Associations promised steady work, an assured living, and wages that increased with the disagreeableness of the work. But here, too, there seemed to be no advantage. Skilled labor was able to make more outside and was unwilling to enter the communities. Inside there was also dissatisfaction with the scheme of distribution as between capital and labor. From most of the Associations came the complaint that labor was not getting an adequate return. From the Wisconsin Phalanx came the testimony that Fourier's system of distribution was the cause of its failure. When the Phalanx was ready to disband, those who still had faith in community life and wanted to remain issued a statement in which Fourier's allotment to capital (three-twelfths of the product) was declared to be unwarranted and unjust. An essential principle of

Association, that capital had a right to a share in the product, was thus condemned by men who had started out to prove its success. The experience of the Wisconsin Phalanx also showed that poverty might exist in Association. The statement mentioned recommended that a system of guarantees (insurance) was necessary to prevent some members from becoming destitute.

With regard to the question of repugnant labor, however, the Associationists can not be said to have failed. Their communities divided labor into three classes: necessary, useful, and agreeable—paying the highest wages for the least agreeable work, and the lowest wages for the most agreeable. With this division there seems to have been no dissatisfaction, although positive evidence of its success is still lacking.

In the field of propaganda, the Associationists had started out with the idea of a comprehensive social reorganization. All the other movements for reform, in politics, in industry and in religion, they had looked upon as partial and as dealing with effects only.

> Our Evils are Social, not Political,
> And a Social Reform only can Eradicate them.

As the agitation went on, however, the Associationists began to pay more attention to particular remedies for particular evils. One by one they adopted and advocated the measures of the land reformers, the organized workingmen, and the political reformers. The Association leaders took up these movements, their energies went into them, and in the last general convention of Associationists (1850) we find them strongly endorsing these reforms and making but a feeble plea for keeping intact the American Union of Associationists.

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1. ROBERT OWEN

(a) "A RATIONAL STATE OF SOCIETY"

New York *Daily Tribune*; quoted in *The New Moral World**, Nov. 16, 1844, p. 161.

The Empires of Great Britain and America are, compared with other nations, in an advanced position, to commence gradually, and without any disorder to the old interests of society, the greatest change that has yet occurred for the permanent benefit of the human race.

It is uncertain whether the United States or Great Britain will first commence this change, or whether the population of both Empires will agree to begin and progress together.

The change is no less than from an irrational system of all human affairs, based on the most palpable notions of error, to the rational system for conducting the whole business of life, based on demonstrable laws of nature. The system of error produces and reproduces continually evil and misery under every change that has yet been tried; the second, or rational system, will make man a new or regenerated being, and create altogether another state of society in which ignorance, division, vice, and misery will, after two or three generations, gradually cease and become in practice unknown.

But to effect this revolution in the condition of humanity, in peace, with order, without the conflict of individuals, classes, sects, parties, countries, or colours, will appear, at first, impossible. This apparent impossibility has often been urged when any great beneficial change of minor importance has been proposed to be

* The *New Moral World* was Owen's magazine published in London.

introduced; therefore, the objection is not of much weight, and can have little or no influence with those who have acquired a knowledge of the erroneous imaginary notions on which old society has been constructed and of the principles of nature on which alone a rational system of society can be erected. It is necessary, before this subject can be understood, that the imaginary erroneous notions whence the old system has emanated, and the laws of nature on which the rational system is to be raised, should be made plain to every capacity, in order that these errors and truths may be always present to our minds to direct our judgments upon all occurrences as they arise. The importance of being thoroughly versed and always familiar with these fundamental errors of the old world and the divine laws of truth on which to found the new or regenerated world, cannot be too strongly expressed or too strongly urged upon all of every age and degree. Because all that is now essentially necessary to effect this all-to-be-desired change, is that the population of the world should abandon the three fundamental erroneous imaginations of our early ancestors, and the necessary practices thence ensuing, and adopt the three opposite laws of nature, and introduce practical arrangements in accordance with those laws.

The three errors arising from the crude imaginations of our early ancestors are,

1st. The supposition that we form ourselves individually, and in consequence that we are responsible for the individual qualities of humanity which we possess.

2d. That we are so formed as to be competent to believe or disbelieve, as we please, and are responsible for our belief; and that there is merit and demerit in having some peculiar belief and opinions.

3d. That we can love, be indifferent or hate who and

what we like, that we are responsible for these feelings, and that we ought to love and hate according to the opinions of others.

While the three great fundamental laws of nature are,

1st. That no individual could form any of his natural qualities, and cannot therefore be made responsible for them.

2d. That no individual can believe or disbelieve otherwise than according to the convictions made on his mind, and these convictions depend upon evidence which no one can create or reject.

3d. That no individual can love or hate at his pleasure, but must love that which is agreeable and dislike that which is disagreeable to him, and there can be no merit or demerit in these natural and unavoidable instincts.

That which the population of the world cannot yet comprehend is, how these three hitherto unsuspected errors can be the sole cause of the sin and misery of the world, and the three now apparently simple truths, when they shall be introduced into practice, should produce a new state of society in which there shall be no sin and misery, but in which all shall gradually become by comparison with the present, excellent and happy.

The explanation of these more than ancient miracles or modern discoveries and inventions shall be explained in the next paper.* ROBERT OWEN.

Victoria, Capt. Morgan, Sept. 6, 1844.

* The explanation appears in his addresses. — ED.

(b) RELIGION AND MARRIAGE

New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 24, 1844, p. 1. "Address of Robert Owen to the People of the United States."

A Great Mental, Moral and Practical Revolution to be effected in Peace, and most Beneficially for Rich and Poor.

Americans! I have come to you a missionary from the other side of the Atlantic, to endeavor to effect, in peace, for the permanent advantage of all, in every country, the greatest revolution ever yet made in human society.

The general excitement and misery of the mass in nations demand it, and the signs of the times indicate its approach.

But you will naturally enquire, who is it that is bold enough to undertake this task and what are his pretensions? He is an old man, in his 74th year, who has read and studied the various writings of the human race for five hours a day on an average for twenty years; who has been a man of extensive practice in the great department of life for more than half a century; who has traveled, seen, and heard much; who has been for many years visited by parties in search of knowledge from all parts of the civilized world, and who has had but one object during his life, that is, to discover the cause or causes of human error and misery, and to find the remedy for both. But this old man, because to effect this object, he has been obliged in good faith to oppose all prejudices of the human race, has been more abused, vilified, and his sentiments and views more falsified, by the public press, than almost any other individual on either side of the Atlantic; and especially has he been misrepresented on some of the most interesting and im-

portant subjects, having reference to the permanent happiness of our race through all future ages. . .

The impression made upon the mind of this old man, respecting religion is, that upon this subject the world has been in error from the beginning, but that it is a natural and unalienable right in man to have the most unlimited religious liberty, provided he does not interfere with the liberty of others. That all that is really known on the subject of theology from the beginning of history is, that of necessity, there is an eternal uncreated power which accomplishes whatever has been, is, or may be done throughout the universe, and that civilized nations, so called, have agreed to call that great first uncreated power, God, to which term there can be no rational objection. But what God is, no man knows; it is a mystery past human penetration to find out; and the quarrels among the human race on the subject of this power, on theology, or religion, are proof how far the nations of the earth are yet from being rational in their thoughts or conduct. "Can man by searching find out God?" "Or can he do any good to God?" "Can he glorify infinite incomprehensible power?" "Can he do anything contrary to the laws of that power?" Is it not madness in men then to differ and quarrel and fight and massacre each other on account of particular imbibed notions respecting the supposed will of a power altogether incomprehensible to man? Evidently the first step to rationality, in the human race, will be to abandon all angry, uncharitable, and unkind feelings for each other, on account of their opinions and feelings, respecting the supposed will of a power utterly incomprehensible to the human race.

Until this effect shall be accomplished, no solid foundation can be laid for the attainment of permanent

peace, progressive prosperity and happiness among mankind; and this first and most important step can be alone gained, by all agreeing to allow all in the spirit of charity the utmost religious liberty in speech, writing and action, so long as the same liberty in others shall not be diminished or in any manner interfered with.

I therefore give to all others, and claim for myself, the most ample religious freedom, and the foundation stone of all true, efficient, and rational liberty of mankind, and without which any form of government, whatever it may be called, is a despotism.

Upon the subject of marriage, it is necessary to be equally explicit. The object of human society is to increase the happiness of each individual to the greatest extent practicable – that is, consistent with the greatest happiness of the whole; and the external laws of humanity are, in connection with the association of the sexes, that man must like that which is most agreeable to him and dislike that which is most disagreeable to him. All human laws of marriage should be based upon these divine or natural laws, and no parties, for the benefit of all, should be compelled to associate as husband and wife after the natural affections and sympathies of their nature have been so far separated that no probability remains of effecting a reunion of them. And until an advanced state of society can be attained, and superior arrangements can be formed, in a more perfect state of rational association, the following were the form, and ceremony, and mode of marriage, and divorce, given by the writer to the world at a most numerous public meeting in London, held for that purpose on the first of May, 1838, and unanimously approved:

Many persons grossly mistake the views which I rec-

ommend of the subject of the union of the sexes. My object is to remove the causes of the immense and most melancholy and deplorable amounts of sexual crime and misery, and consequent physical and mental disease, which now exists. It is Nature's laws, now disregarded, which require to be discovered and implicitly obeyed—there being none other which can produce health, virtue, and happiness.

In the present absence of real knowledge derived from experience, and with the exciting, irregular, and misdirected feelings of the population of the world, created by a false education, I propose that the union and disunion of the sexes should take place under the following regulations: Persons having an affection for each other, and being desirous to form a union, shall first announce such intention publicly in our Sunday assemblies. If the intention remains at the end of three months, the parties living in the mean time singly as before, make a second public declaration, in a similar manner, which declaration being registered and witnessed, and entered into the book of the rational society, will constitute their rational marriage.

In the new world about to be introduced, marriages will be solely formed to promote the happiness of the sexes, and if this end be not attained, the object of the union will be defeated. Should the parties, therefore, after the termination of twelve months, at the soonest, discover that their dispositions and habits are unsuited to each other, and that there is little or no prospect of happiness being derived from their union, they are to make a public declaration, as before, to that effect, after which they return home and live together six months longer, at the termination of which, if they still find their qualities discordant, and both agree to make a similar second declaration, both of which being only

registered and witnessed, will constitute their legal separation.

The above cases apply only when both parties unite in the last declaration. Should one alone come forward upon the last declaration, and the other object to separation, they would be required to live together another six months, to try if their feelings and habits could be made to accord so as to promote their happiness. But at the end of the second six months, if the objecting party shall remain of the same mind, the separation is then to be final, and the parties may, without diminution of public opinion, form new unions more suited to their dispositions.

As all children in this new rational state of society will be trained and educated under the superintendence and care of the Society, the separation of the parents will not produce any change in the condition of the rising generation.

Under these arrangements, there can be no doubt a much more virtuous and happy state of society will be enjoyed than any which has existed, at any time, in any part of the world.

These are arrangements now recommended to those who commence communities to form a rational state of society.

Unless they adopt this mode of forming their marriages, it is not probable that married persons can live long in such associations without many difficulties arising.

No parties, without actual experience, can imagine the advantages that arise from children being trained and educated from birth in these new associations, by those especially educated to educate, and who possess the most faculty for this important purpose, instead of children being brought up under the innumerable dis-

advantages of family arrangements, and strong animal maternal affections, by which more than justice is sought for our own, and less for others.

The Missionary, in all his proceedings, is desirous that equal justice should be done to all of the human race—that each should be well educated, physically, mentally, morally, and practically, which education is necessary to the well-being and happiness of all; and also, that each should be well and efficiently employed and occupied through life, not only to produce a fair share of the wealth and knowledge which society requires from each, but to keep them in the best state of health, bodily and mentally. ROBERT OWEN.
11th September, 1844.

(c) IMMEDIATE MEASURES

New Moral World, Nov. 2, 1844, p. 146, quoted from New York *Herald*, Sept. 21, 1844.

AN ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA

AMERICANS: I left your country, the fourth and last time, in the year 1830, having made the three previous visits between that period and 1824. During these visits, I had much important communication with your then governments and with the ex-Presidents John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, General Jackson and his Secretary of State, Messrs. Van Buren and Cabinet; with Messrs. Henry Clay, Calhoun, Poinsett, Judge Marshall, and all the Judges of the Supreme Court; and with most of the leading statesmen of that period.

A short time after my return to Europe, Achille Murat, nephew of the Emperor Napoleon, published a book of travels in the United States, in which work he stated that I was busily engaged in Europe lecturing

against the American Government. It was then three years after this book was published, before I heard of it, and it was then too late to notice it. In the mean time, I was not a little surprised with the changed conduct of these statesmen, whom I afterwards met in London and on the continent of Europe: but, when I afterwards heard of this, to say the least of it, thoughtless and most untrue paragraph of young Murat's, the cause became obvious, and the mystery solved. Nothing could have been more untrue or contrary to my feelings respecting all the members of the government under the administration of President Monroe, John Quincy Adams, and General Jackson; for these gentlemen, and the other statesmen previously mentioned, treated me with a confidence, truthfulness, kindness, and hospitality, such as I must always remember with a pleasure not easily to be expressed. It exceeded everything I could anticipate in conduct to a stranger visiting them unaccredited.

These statesmen must, indeed, have been much surprised to have read such a paragraph, which could have been inserted only upon a mere random rumour, which at all times, respecting public men, is of most uncertain origin; for one and all of these statesmen had, during all my intercourse with them, evinced, without the slightest deviation, the most confidential, straightforward, and honest conduct; such as enabled me, by the extraordinary confidence which they placed in me, to effect an entire change in the spirit of diplomacy, between Great Britain and the United States, in the year 1830.

The facts were these: Knowing, as I then did, the extent of the misunderstanding, and the hostile correspondence which had, for some years previously, taken place between the two governments, and the adverse

spirit with which it was conducted, I was surprised, and greatly pleased, to discover, from my intercourse, first with Mr. Van Buren, as Secretary of State, and President Jackson, on the one side of the Atlantic, and the Earl of Aberdeen on the other, that these parties could be induced so willingly to accede to the proposals which I first broached to Mr. Poinsett, when Minister in Mexico, afterward to Mr. Van Buren and General Jackson at Washington, and then to Lord Aberdeen in London – to abandon this spirit and hostile attitude, and agree to adjust, and finally settle, in a just manner and amicable spirit, every point of difference then existing between the two countries, with a determination to meet each other honestly and fairly half way. This was immediately done between the ministers of the respective governments, and the best feeling continued to prevail between them for several years afterwards.

One of the chief objects of my present visit to the United States, is to discover the means by which these feelings may be renewed and perpetuated advantageously for both countries, and to make such facts known as will convince the governments and people of the United States and Great Britain, that it is yet their paramount interest to become and remain cordially united, and to assist each other in promoting the extension of the arts and sciences and of every useful knowledge. . . [Repetition of the "three great fundamental laws" as stated above.]

To effect this change in this manner, it is necessary that the following measures should be speedily introduced into practice, in every country, as the progress of civilization to overcome these prejudices by government and people will, without violence or disorder, admit. They may be immediately adopted in the United States:

1st. Perfect liberty of mind to write, speak, and publish, whatever appears true, upon all subjects, civil and religious.

2nd. Perfect religious liberty to worship the Great Creating Power of the Universe, or God, in any manner, or any form, according to the conscience of each individual.

3rd. That no one shall be in any manner molested or injured, on account of his conscientious belief or worship, so long as the individual shall not interfere with, or injure his neighbor.

4th. That every child, from birth, shall be trained and educated – physically, mentally, morally, and practically – in the best manner known to make him the most valuable member of society, and the most happy being through life, that his original organization will admit.

5th. That all, according to age and capacity, shall be well occupied and employed, physically and mentally, through life.

6th. That mechanism and chemistry shall be substituted for laborious, disagreeable, and unhealthy manual labour, to the greatest extent known in these sources, or to which new inventions and discoveries may lead, until all of the human race shall be well, and only pleasantly occupied, physically and mentally, through life.

7th. Perfect liberty of ingress and egress in and out of all countries.

8th. Free trade on all things, with all the world.

9th. That scientific arrangements shall be made as soon as practicable, to produce, generally, the greatest amount of the most valuable wealth, in the shortest time, with the least waste of capital, and the most pleasure to the producers, and that this wealth shall be distributed in the best manner for all the consumers.

10th. That the circulating medium, as long as any shall be required, shall possess the three following qualities: 1st. Capacity of being increased, and only increased as exchangeable wealth increases. 2nd. To diminish as exchangeable wealth diminishes. 3rd. To be itself exchangeable in its value.

11th. That individual competition, and national wars, shall cease, and all individual and national differences shall be submitted to arbitration, and finally and promptly decided by the arbitrators.

12th. That all the inferior external circumstances of man's creation, shall be peaceably and gradually changed for the most superior that the knowledge and means of society united can decide and execute.

ROBERT OWEN.

(d) "TO THE CAPITALISTS"

New York *Daily Tribune*, April 2, 1845, p. 2, col. 4.

TO THE CAPITALISTS AND MEN OF EXTENSIVE PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE IN NEW YORK

Your position is, at this period, owing to a singular combination of fortunate circumstances, one the most to be desired for the attainment of great individual and national objects.

The funds of the one, directed to be practically applied by the experience of the other, could ensure, without risk, larger returns for Capital than can be obtained by any other investment of it, without great risk, in any other direction in these States or in Europe.

The expenditure of the Capital in the way to be proposed would, by the mode of its application, double its value in four or five years and give most advantageous occupation to operatives of every description, create a demand for all kinds of materials and ensure beneficial employment for the unemployed females.

In fact, place the continually increasing prosperity of these states on a solid foundation and prevent the recurrence of what is technically called "bad times" ever being again known.

Had the capitalists and men of business in extensive operations been trained to understand their own interests and the interests of their country and of society generally, the late disasters which produced such overwhelming distress throughout the commercial world, arising solely from artificial causes, could never have occurred.

You desire to be independent of pecuniary circumstances, and to enjoy the advantages of wealth to the greatest extent when wisely expended.

The time has arrived when you may accomplish these objects without risk, first for yourselves and children through succeeding generations, and secondly for the population of these States, as they shall be trained through the means to be proposed, to make a judicious and proper use of these advantages.

The mode to accomplish these most desirable objects will be to form joint stock companies with unlimited amount of capital – for any amount may be immediately advantageously employed – to form new superior establishments for producing and distributing wealth, for educating the children of the persons to be employed so that they shall acquire from their infancy a sound, practical and active character, both physical and mental, under a new combination of greatly improved external circumstances, by which these establishments will, after paying a liberal interest for the capital during the intermediate time, always repay the capital by a sinking fund annually appropriated for that purpose, and will be easily governed on such principles as will be highly beneficial to the capitalists and operatives.

These establishments will enable the capitalists and men of extensive practical experience to solve without difficulty the Great Problem of the Age, that is, how to apply the enormous and ever-growing new scientific powers for producing wealth, beneficially for the entire population, instead of allowing them to continue, as heretofore, most injuriously to create enormous riches for the few and to impoverish the many, driving them toward a desperation that will ultimately, if not untimely prevented by this measure, involve the over-wealthy in utter destruction.

It is my intention to make this – now the most important subject that can engage the attention of all parties, rich and poor, capitalists and operatives – so plain in the lectures which I have agreed to deliver in the Minerva Rooms, 406 Broadway, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday evenings of this week, at half past 7 o'clock, as will make the subject far better understood than the gross misrepresentations of the ill-informed have permitted it to be up to this period. My great desire is, without regard to class, party, sect or present condition, permanently to benefit all. ROBERT OWEN. March 31, 1845.

(e) OWEN'S LETTERS TO ENGLAND

(1) Reform in the United States.
New Moral World, Dec. 6, 1844, p. 185.

. . . If the climate of this place [New Harmony] was equal to our climate – which I believe to be the most favourable for physical and mental vigour in the world – it would be now a most desirable site and neighborhood to commence new world proceedings; but, as it is not, I could not recommend any with British-formed constitutions to run the risk of the change of climate. The more northern parts of these States are

better adapted for the constitutions of our countrymen and women than so far to the south as this place. Those, however, who are here, or who may come and find the climate to agree with them, may make this town and neighborhood a very beautiful residence, as it possesses as fine a site for a Community as can be found in any part of the United States. It is truly a magnificent country, with a due proportion of land, wood, and water, in a desirable combination. On my way from Pittsburgh down the Ohio river by steam-boats, I lectured in one of them by solicitation of the passengers twice, and in another boat once, just before I landed at Mount Vernon. When near to Wheeling, a large town on the Ohio, I visited, by particular request of the leading Fourierites in New York, the Ohio Phalanx, lately commenced as one of their numerous associations in these States, and although they have some fundamental errors which, after a certain period in their progress, they will feel a necessity to alter, yet are they in some respects well suited to commence the new system of Associations. They are in many ways much less repulsive to the prejudices of the old world, and many of the members have comparatively superior habits, and better knowledge of the feelings and manners of the old world, than some who commence, or who desire to commence, the more perfect system of Communities. There are now in these States a considerable number of associations (Fourierites) and of communities (Rationalists), who are beginning operations in several of the States, particularly in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, and one in Wisconsin, if not more. These are all, more or less, very crude attempts; but they will all be useful, and lead by degrees to such as I have described in the "Development" which I published a few years since. . . On Sunday

next I lecture here, and shall do so several times before I leave with Robert Dale for the City of Washington, where we intend to arrive about the opening of the next session of Congress. I could not have come to this country at a more fortunate crisis: the public mind is undergoing a great change, and when the present presidential contest shall terminate, it will be in a most favourable position, as it now appears to me, to listen with some attention to common sense, and, for a time at least, to discard exciting politics. There is here, as with you, a strong undercurrent opposed to the existing organization of society, from the discovery that it is incompetent to effect the permanent well-being and happiness of the human race; but I hope it will be kept under until it shall acquire wisdom to make a change for a natural or rational organization of society, and to effect the change by foresight and wisdom, instead of by hasty, forced-on violence and disorder. . .

(2) Owen's Mission.
New Moral World, Dec. 13, 1844, p. 193.

. . . The people of this country are now in the midst of political excitement bordering, in many cases, upon insanity and madness; but before December comes in, the disease will have considerably abated by the elections for the members of Congress, the State Governors, and the President of the United States, being over for the present: yet, this time next year, other political elections for members of Congress and other offices will again occur; and so on, year after year, keeping the whole country in one eternal turmoil of all the inferior passions in constant excitement, wasting the time, faculties, and feelings of the people to no other purpose than to maintain an imaginary state of liberty, while, in fact, with the word in the mouth of everyone, the substance is little understood and no-

where enjoyed. There is more mental slavery in this country at this moment than there is in England; not arising from the constitution of the States' government so much as from the system of society, to which, in many respects, that constitution is opposed; and in consequence, public opinion being created more by the old established system of society than by the new constitution, there is a constant conflict between them, which prevents the inhabitants of this country from enjoying its wonderful—almost illimitable—capabilities of prosperity, power, and happiness.

These States possess the means to place all their inhabitants, now and for centuries to come, including all the immigrants that may come from Europe, in a condition of high permanent independence. I have to make this evident to the leaders of the political, religious, professional, and commercial parties on this side of the water; and in this task I shall have great preliminary aid from the leading Fourierites in New York city, and in other parts of the Union. They have already battered the old system in many parts most effectually, by the writings of several of their very talented members. They are yet wedded to their groups, and series, and mysticisms about some religion: and it is well that many of them are so conscientiously; for those who yet cannot give up the notion of private property, and who have some notions of some religion, and individual receipts for capital, skill, labour, will join them, when, from their early prejudices upon these matters, they would not listen to us. We are too far in advance towards the whole truth for these minds, though educated and disinterested, to come at once to us; but let them begin in their own way, and they will gradually, in good time, discover error from truth, and they will, ere long, come in with the multitude, and

learn the right way to ensure equality of education and condition for all. . .

(3) Fourierism.
New Moral World, Jan. 11, 1845, p. 225.

. . . We have just learned here, that the democratic party throughout the United States have succeeded in electing their candidate for president for the next four years. This will have an influence favourable to the producers of wealth, who have been hitherto, all over the world, so unwisely oppressed by the non-producers. It is made still more evident by the result of this extended and most strongly-contested election, that the time approaches when a more equitable arrangement of society between producers and non-producers of wealth must arise, for the permanent benefit of all parties in every country; but I am more confirmed in my old opinions, by all I have seen since my return to these States, that a partial change, or mixture of two systems based on opposing principles, one true and the other false, can never be effected to be permanent and beneficial.

The Fourierite system is such an attempt. It is advocated and supported by good and talented men and women, but deficient in a knowledge of society or of human nature. They are, however, doing great good, by exposing the utter worthlessness of the present system of society, and they form a safe step for many from the old towards the new state of society. I am very desirous that the professed disciples of the Rational System, both in Europe and in these States, should treat these friends to association as friends, and in accordance with the unlimited charity and forbearance which necessarily emanate from a full and correct knowledge of rational principles, and without the constant application of which to practice, no one can with

truth call himself or herself a disciple of the Rational System of society.

After I shall have been some days in Washington, and seen the leaders of parties, I will write again, and inform you what appears to me practicable to effect in this new and in many respects most extraordinary country, a country now in a position, if the leading minds in the States composing it had sufficient wisdom and experience to direct its resources aright, to build up the most extended, powerful, intelligent, and happy empire that has yet existed; and to build up this empire, without violence or conquest, most beneficially for all other nations. Its resources for power and high permanent prosperity are exhaustless, and require but steady practical measures to bring them speedily into action.

With best wishes for the speedy success of our measures in the old country, I remain, yours faithfully,

ROBERT OWEN.

New Harmony, Indiana, Nov. 17, 1844.

(4) Robert Dale Owen.

Letter from Mr. Owen to Mr. J. E. Smith, Harmony Hall, from the *New Moral World*, Feb. 22, 1845, p. 273.

My son and I came together from New Harmony, in Indiana, to this city, and a long, tedious, and dangerous journey it was. Many lives were lost in steamboats at the time we were travelling, in similar vessels, and we might, but for an accident, have been in one of them; as it was, we escaped: but life here is held very cheap, and great risks are run often from want of common care in conductors of vessels and vehicles, and also in the passengers.

During the journey several members of Congress joined us, and we had much conversation about our new system, and I was several times, whilst on the

steam-boats, requested to lecture to the passengers, which, when requested, I never refused, as these lectures tended to extend a knowledge of our views, and to make them better known even in the "extreme west," by which is here meant west of the Alleghany Mountains, away over to the Rocky Mountains, and to the Pacific Ocean.

My eldest son, Robert Dale Owen, is a member of the House of Representatives of Congress, and is considered a leading member among the Democratic party, to which he has always adhered; and last session made some speeches which his party praise very much: he stands well in the general estimation of the members, which is so far an aid to my views here. I have been very busy ever since my arrival in this city, transmitting my publications, letters, papers, &c., over all parts of the Union, and have now many hundred on the table waiting, which I am preparing to send away, so soon as my son, who enables me to send them free, can find time to post them: but I have not time to say more, having much to say, but which must be deferred until another opportunity.

My love to one and all of you, and wishing you a continued increase to your happiness, I remain, your affectionate Father, ROBERT OWEN.

Washington City, 28th December, 1844.

(f) WORLD'S CONVENTION

(1) Owen's Suggestion.

New York *Herald*, May 26, 1845, p. 1.

ADDRESS BY ROBERT OWEN, ON LEAVING THE UNITED STATES FOR EUROPE, JUNE 1, 1845

AMERICANS: After an absence of fifteen years I have again spent nine months in your States, and nearly four months of that period in the city of Washington, dur-

ing the last session of Congress. I have seen in my travels through New England and the middle States, and presume the same has occurred in the south and west, a great increase to your cities – to your population, and in the extended cultivation of the soil. I have also ascertained that your means to increase wealth and power, for good or evil, are illimitable for many hundreds or thousands of years, and you could now beneficially absorb into your Union the present population of Europe.

You have also progressed in a most extraordinary manner in new discoveries in science, and in mechanical inventions, to render manual labor of diminished value, and to open the path to a new state of things, which will make labor of little or no commercial value, or unsaleable, for the rightful support of the industrious.

In proportion as your scientific power to create wealth has increased, individual competition has increased ignorant selfishness, vice, crime and misery among the masses, so as to make all parties blind to their present position of high capabilities and to their interests as individuals and members of society.

Your statesmen are occupied in unprofitable and nationally injurious politics.

Your politicians in petty local party contests, useless for the attainment of great results.

Your capitalists and extensive merchants are overwhelmed in speculations, hazardous to themselves, and of little comparative benefit to their country or to the world. There is no foresight, wisdom, or order – no permanent, prosperous future in any of their proceedings.

Your traders, wholesale and retail, are wasting, most injuriously, much of the capital, talent and industry of your country, and at the same time keeping the mind

and morals of the Union upon a low level, most disadvantageous to every class.

Your most industrious classes are kept unnecessarily in toil, ignorance, and consequent degradation.

Senseless superstitions pervade the land without a particle of real charity being created between any of the classes, sects or parties, possessing any one of these monster obstacles to human progress, for any who have been made to differ from them; and religion is perverted to worldly purposes.

Your prisons and punishments increase, and the necessity for more, while the present state of things continues, will daily become stronger.

You have already, to a great extent, throughout the Union, ignorance, poverty, division and misery. And yet, as the causes of these evils have been discovered, they may be now easily removed. . .

But how can this change be speedily effected? It is now ascertained that public opinion governs the world. This change then may be effected by speedily creating a new public opinion in its favor.

But how is this new public opinion to be created? The answer is obvious. All great improvements commence with one or a few, and these, by judicious measures, interest more and more, until a sufficient number unite to accomplish the object. There is an admirable spirit abroad anxiously looking out for the right commencement of this change and bold truths announced in the pure spirit of charity will now accomplish that object. Let then the proper measures to create this public opinion be now adopted, and let all good men of every class, sect, party and state unite for this Godlike purpose.

To this end let a Convention be called of delegates from every State and territory in the Union, to consider

what practical measures can be immediately carried into execution to apply the enormous means to secure prosperity for all the people of these States, that they may become an example to the world of what, with sound judgment, in peace, with order and with the least injury and the most benefit to every one, from the highest to the lowest, may be done.

But what is every one's business is no one's in particular, and is too often neglected by all. I, therefore, feeling a deep interest in the immediate improvement of our race, recommend such Convention to be called the "World's Convention," to consider what measures of a practical character can be adopted to ensure the immediate benefit of every class, without violence, contest or competition, and especially what can be done to well educate and employ the uneducated and unemployed, to fit them for the superior state of society, to create which, for all the means are now so superabundant, not only in these States, but wherever men need to live; or it may be called "The World's Convention" to emancipate the human race from ignorance, poverty, division, sin and misery.

The chief business of my life has been, so far, to prepare all classes, from the highest to the lowest, for this great change in the condition of humanity in this world, and thus, in the best manner to prepare it for all future changes, whatever they may be, after we shall have done all in our power to ensure knowledge, goodness and happiness in our present mode of existence.

I live but to put into activity the means to accomplish this change for my suffering fellow men; and to see in progress the necessary measures to effect this object I leave your country on the first of June for Europe, intending to return here about the middle of September.

Being of no class, or sect, or party in any country,

but a sincere friend to all, and being most desirous to abolish all party distinctions, I recommend that the "World's Convention," previously mentioned, be held in the city of New York, to commence on the first day of October next, and to continue until the great and good work of establishing equal and just rights among men and insuring the progressive improvement and happiness of all, shall be well understood.

It will be found, on full investigation, that there is but one interest amongst all of the human race, and that is, that each one should be the best taught from birth, the best employed through life, and that the inferior circumstances of man's creation should be replaced from around all by those only of a superior and permanent character, whether the animate or inanimate, for as these are, so will man become.

These measures have no individual interest or object in view; it is, therefore, earnestly requested, for the good of humanity, that the press will advocate the call and object of this Convention, and prepare the minds of the public for the great and glorious results which may, by these measures, be speedily obtained for all of every class in every country. ROBERT OWEN.
New York, 24th May, 1845.

(2) The Call.
New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 25, 1845, p. 1.

Address to the Inhabitants of the United States, and to the Population of the Western Hemisphere, however now divided by Language, and Opponent Interests. . . You will, through this knowledge, comprehend how decidedly it is for the interest of all upon this continent, that they should be members of the strongest government upon it; that there should be no discord or weak governments; that as soon as practicable, there should be but one general federative government, one

language, one code of laws, one circulating medium, one system of commerce, and no restrictions between one district and another, from north to south, and from east to west, and thus, that there should be but one interest through its whole extent. That this government should be based on nature's unchanging laws, be federative in its outline, but self-governing in its smallest federate division, and these divisions so formed as that each individual within them, shall be well cared for, from birth to death, in order that no one shall be at any time overlooked; but that all, young, middle aged, and old, shall have full justice done to them physically, mentally, morally and practically, according to their natural capacities; and as man has been, is, and ever must be, the creature of the good or evil circumstances under which he is formed, before his birth, and by which he is afterward surrounded through life, especial care must be taken to first remove the existing inferior and evil circumstances which now, more or less, affect all previous to, and which surround all from birth to death; and second to replace those circumstances whose influence are of an inferior and evil character, by those decidedly superior and good. . . To make this all important subject generally understood, for the permanent benefit of all, a convention to be called the "World's Convention," is hereby called in the city of New-York, the chief city of the United States, now constituting the most powerful government on the Western Hemisphere, and already an experienced organized federative government, therefore forming the most advantageous nucleus for the commencement, in the New World, of an entirely new system for the benefit of all, upon the principles of equal rights and of self-government, the fundamental principles upon which the American Government was based by its far-seeing

founders. This Convention is now called to create an opportunity to make the fact known to all, that the means now exist in great superfluity to effect this glorious change for humanity over the world, but especially over the whole of this continent, and to consider and discuss, in a friendly manner, the best mode by which, in the shortest time, and with the least evil to all, these means may be applied to accomplish this change in practice. All having these unexclusive and God-like objects in view, and more especially those who have had extensive experience, are invited, in the spirit of universal charity and kindness, to attend this, the World's Convention, to commence at 10 o'clock, on Wednesday, 1st October. The place of holding the Convention will be advertised in a few days. ROBERT OWEN.

(3) Reforms to be Accomplished.
New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 27, 1845, p. 2, col. 2. Advertisement.

The World's Convention will be held in Clinton Hall, and commence its proceedings at 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning, October 1st, when all who are interested in the improvement of the condition of society, irrespective of any of the exciting injurious divisions, which prevent union and destroy the germs of charity, are invited to attend, to assist in the adoption of measures that will enable the public, in a short time, to apply its abundant materials and powers to ensure permanent prosperity and progressive happiness to the entire population of these States.

It is full time that the inhabitants of America should be no longer deceived and held in bondage by mere words, forms and ceremonies, meaning nothing that is substantial or that can ever improve the condition of the millions, or even those who are trained to use the word and practice the forms and ceremonies.

To secure permanent progressive prosperity and happiness for all will, now, by one bold and god-like effort, be speedily effected.

To accomplish this object, a full supply of wealth and a superior character for all are alone required. The means to attain both universally have been discovered through the late progress of inventions and improvements in the arts and sciences; and these means may be now united into one grand practical science, as fixed and certain in its operations as any of the fixed sciences. Of this statement let none doubt until they have honestly applied their minds to the investigation of the principles and plans to be proposed; and as such result will be most advantageous for all, let no one intrude his mere ignorant local prejudices as an obstacle to the attainment of this great permanent good for all, but let every one endeavor to repress, on this occasion, his own prejudices of locality and the prejudices of others; for it is these early imbibed prejudices alone that now stand between man and a high degree of physical and mental excellence, and progressive happiness in proportion as this excellence shall be attained.

But let none suppose that they are not prejudiced. The people of all nations over the world are locally prejudiced—in their sectarian dissentions, in their laws, governments and customs, in their classifications and partizan notions. The Jews, the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Mahomedans, the Pagans, and the Christians, through their endless sectarian divisions, are one and all strongly locally prejudiced. Each nation is locally prejudiced against all other nations—each race against all other races—each class against every other class—and, to some extent, each one against every other even in the same locality. These local prejudices prevent

Union and destroy Charity, and without Union and Charity, there can be no permanent prosperity, excellence or happiness.

All local prejudices emanate alone from ignorance. To remove this ignorance, there must be an entire change in the circumstances by which it is hourly perpetuated.

The causes of all local prejudices are known, and, under the guidance of the spirits of Charity and Kindness, may now be removed, and all of them, without violence or ill will, abandoned.

Those, therefore, who attend the "World's Convention," will be of little use to it unless they come prepared to abandon all that can there be proved to be injurious local prejudices, and now formidable obstacles to the introduction of universal charity, mental liberty and kindness. And without these virtues, it will be forever useless and vain to expect prosperity, excellence and happiness in society, in this or in any other part of the world.

These virtues can be attained and secured in practice only by—1. The absence of local prejudices; 2. A universal good practical education, freed from local prejudices, to ensure a superior character; 3. Regular, systematic, beneficial employment, to ensure a surplus of wealth for all; 4. A scientific arrangement of external circumstances to compose societies, which shall exclude local prejudices, and include superior education and employments; 5. Local government, without force or fraud, which shall be so constructed that each one, under its direction, shall be well cared for and justly treated.

All this may now be accomplished by the World's Convention. Education, employment, no local preju-

dices, and a local government that will well care for all and act justly to each, on the principle of universal charity and kindness – with these the future happiness of the world will be permanently secured. A friend to all, ROBERT OWEN.

No. 11 Fifth-avenue, New-York.

(4) Proceedings.

New York *Daily Tribune*, Oct. 1, 1845, p. 2.

The first meeting of the World's Convention (as it is termed) was held this morning in the Lecture Room of Clinton Hall. It commenced at 10 a.m. and closed at 1 o'clock. The room was very nearly filled by about 300 persons, and there were about 40 individuals in the gallery. Among those in the lower part of the room were 25 or 30 very well dressed and very well-looking women. Many of the men had a meagre and melancholy cast of countenance, a sort of "let's-all-be-unhappy-together" style of face, but the majority had a highly intelligent and intellectual expression.

The meeting was called to order by the appointment of Mr. Collins as President pro tem. and Mr. Ryckman of Mass. as Secretary pro tem. A Committee of seven, Messrs. Owen, Collins, Davies, Hooper, Bovay, a Mr. Smith and another were sent out to draw up a list of officers, rules, &c. In the mean time a gentleman whose name was not given, said that he was opposed to Mr. Owen on very many points – that we are all social beings – that the whole human family are socialists – that all are laboring in communities, but they are upheld by blind and bitter prejudices, and the productive part of the community are embittered one against the other by a few crafty individuals who produce nothing but strife and mischief. His speech was cut short by the return of the Committee, who reported as officers:

Robert Owen, *President; Vice Presidents*—Albert Brisbane, John A. Collins, L. W. Ryckman; *Secretaries*—A. E. Bovay, David Hoyt, S. Seller.

Mr. Brisbane declined because he was opposed to Mr. Owen's system, and he didn't accept it in any way or shape.

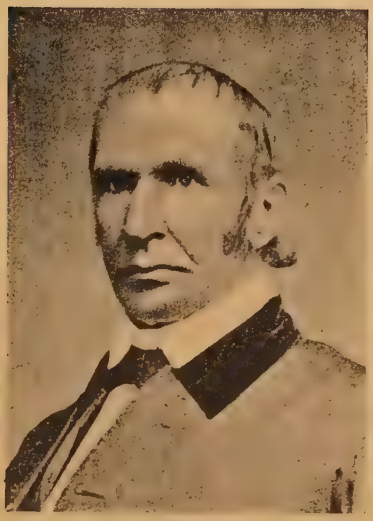
Mr. Ryckman would not serve unless this was thoroughly a World's Convention, where all kinds of views might be given and discussed as broad as the globe—all sorts of political propositions, Christian propositions, associated propositions, temperance propositions, and all kinds, might be entertained.

Mr. Collins would not act unless all the elements of good views were united in a concrete whole, so as to have a power equal to the power we are opposing—it must be universal and not local.

It was then admitted that in this Convention every man and woman should have a right to get up and advance any proposition for the benefit of the human race. Finally all the gentlemen named consented to serve and were chosen by the meeting except Mr. Brisbane, whose place was supplied by Mr. Peebles.

[The Convention continued eight days. Plans for a reorganization of society were presented by Robert Owen, Lewis W. Ryckman, Clinton Roosevelt, John Finch, Alvan E. Bovay, and George H. Evans. Toward the end of the sessions the Associationists and the land reformers withdrew. The Convention adjourned, passing resolutions endorsing Robert Owen's plan and proposing the formation of joint stock companies to carry it out. Clinton Roosevelt's plan was also approved and arrangements were proposed for holding an annual World's Convention. These proposals were never carried out.]

George Henry Evans



Frederick W. Evans

(By permission of Messrs. Charles H. Kerr and Company)

Wilhelm Weitling

Alvan Earl Bovay

2. LOCAL FOURIER SOCIETIES

(a) FOURIER ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK

New York *Daily Tribune*, July 9, 1842, p. 1.

We would inform our friends in the country, who may not be aware of the fact, that the friends of Association in the City have founded a Society bearing the above name, the object of which is to aid the propagation of the principles and doctrines of Association. The Society has a large Lecture Hall in the most central part of the City, capable of containing five or six hundred persons, where Lectures are delivered once or twice a week.

No responsibility is incurred by becoming a member of the Fourier Association; no onerous conditions are imposed, except the payment of the sum of six cents per week, the object of which is to pay the rent of the Lecture Hall, and a few incidental expenses. If any of our friends in the Country wish to become members of the Society here, they can do so by informing us by letter or otherwise. Where there are several persons in a place who believe in Association, we would advise them to form a Society in their own town or city, and connect it with the Society here; the Societies can then communicate with each other, and carry out measures of general interest with much more promptness and energy than if no regular organizations of the kind existed. If a chain of Societies could be established in some of the towns and cities throughout the country, all connecting closely with the head Society at New-York, it would be a powerful means of propagating the Cause, and of enabling the friends of Association in all parts

of the United States to act with Concert and Unity. We particularly recommend this suggestion to our friends. As Societies are formed, let them open communications immediately with the Society at New-York.

We also call upon the friends of the Cause in this City, who may not have joined the Society here, to do so and aid in the slightly onerous way which is required of them towards defraying the expenses of our Lecture Hall and Lectures. A regular meeting of the Society will take place on Tuesday evening next at our Hall, 411 Broadway, when an opportunity will be afforded them of doing so.

(b) SOUTHPORT (WISCONSIN) FOURIER CLUB

The New York *Phalanx*, Feb. 5, 1844, p. 70.

A meeting of the friends of "Association", as discovered and illustrated by the late Charles Fourier, was convened at the Village Hall, in Southport, W.T., on Monday evening, Dec. 11. S. Fish, Esq. was called to the Chair, and C. Clement, appointed Secretary. The following Preamble and Resolutions were submitted and adopted. . .

We believe, that the new social organization as discovered and illustrated by the late Charles Fourier, is well adapted to remove most of the causes of crime and misery which now exist, and to confer innumerable benefits upon mankind. Therefore it is,

RESOLVED, 1st. That we associate ourselves together to be known as the Fourier Club.

2nd. That we unite our efforts and our means for the procuring and disseminating a full and general knowledge of Fourier's principles of Social Science throughout our new and flourishing territory.

3rd. That we will meet once in each week for the

purpose of hearing lectures upon, and discussing the principles of this science.

4th. That in no portion of our country is concert of action and associated strength more necessary than in the north-west, from the fact that capital is deficient and the demand for it great, which gives to the unprincipled the power of extorting to the fullest extent which miserly avarice will allow. . .

Finally, that when we contrast the present condition of man as viewed in his isolated household, his unavoidably useless expenditures, his unpaid labor, his wasted and unemployed time, his uneducated children, and his thousand unsatisfied wants, with that better state which common sense teaches, will flow from a unity of interests with combined wealth and knowledge, and effort, we feel it a duty we owe to ourselves, to our children, and the community at large, to lose no time in testing its benefits practically, in order that we can better and sooner recommend it to the world.

The meeting adjourned until Friday evening next, when a lecture will be delivered by Dr. Parnell, on the subject of Association.

C. CLEMENT, Secretary—S. FISH, President.

3. ASSOCIATIONISTS' CONVENTION

The *Phalanx*, April 20, 1844, pp. 103-106.

Pursuant to a call previously published in the *Phalanx* and other papers, the friends of Association assembled in General Convention on Thursday morning, the 4th of April, 1844, at Clinton Hall, in the City of New York. The hour of meeting was 10 o'clock, soon after which the Convention was called to order, and Mr. Parke Godwin was appointed Chairman, and Mr. O. Macdaniel, Secretary *pro tempore*. The Secretary then read the Call of the Convention and recorded the names of such Delegates and persons present as, under the terms of the Call, could take part in the proceedings of the Convention. Delegates were present from Maine, Massachusetts, Western New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to nominate Officers of the Convention, viz.: Alonzo M. Watson, Watertown, N.Y.; John Allen, Hallowell, Me.; Charles A. Dana, Brookfarm, Mass.; Solyman Brown, City of New York; Albert Brisbane, do. The Nominating Committee, after a short absence, reported the following gentlemen as Officers of the Convention: *President*–George Ripley; *Vice Presidents*–A. Brisbane, Horace Greeley, Parke Godwin, Alonzo M. Watson, Charles A. Dana, A. B. Smolniker; *Secretaries*–Osborne Macdaniel, D. S. Oliphant; *Committee* on the Roll and Finance–John Allen, Nathan Comstock, Jr., James P. Decker.

The Convention having been organized by the appointment of its Officers, the following gentlemen were

named by the President as a Business Committee: Horace Greeley, George Ripley, Albert Brisbane, Parke Godwin, James Kay, John Allen, Alonzo M. Watson, Charles A. Dana, Lewis W. Ryckman, Wm. H. Channing, Solyman Brown, Osborne Macdaniel.

Before proceeding to business the Secretary read letters addressed to the Convention by a number of Societies and individuals in different parts of the United States, expressive of the deep interest felt in the deliberations of the Convention, and their devotion to the great cause of Association and Universal Unity. . .

When the reading of the letters was finished, the Business Committee retired to draft resolutions to submit to the Convention, and after a brief absence W. H. Channing introduced the Preamble and first and second of the series of resolutions which follow, with substantially the following remarks:

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention – It would be doing injustice to this occasion, not to open our discussions of the Principles of Social Reorganization, by an expression of feelings with which we have come up, from far and near, to this assembly. It is but giving voice to what is working in the hearts of those now present, and of thousands whose sympathies are at this moment with us over our whole land, to say, this is a Religious Meeting. Our end is to do God's will, not our own; to obey the command of Providence, not to follow the leadings of human fancies. We stand to-day as we believe amid the dawn of a New Era of Humanity; and as from a Pisgah look down upon a Promised Land. Let us do so with gratitude and humility. "Other men have labored and we have entered into their labors." We are the heirs to-day of prophets, and martyrs and heroes. Behind us are the ages of war and division; before us the ages of union

and peace. Shame on us! if we do not prize the legacy of hope and opportunity, which the host of the faithful have bequeathed.

Among the benefactors of the Human Race, there stands One, so pre-eminent, that he seems alone to merit, the name of Re-former. And when we ask, what was the power, by which this Son of Man, and Son of God, recreated, as it were, Humanity; the answer comes, this living power was in the Unity of his Principle – the Universality of its Application, and the Peacefulness of its Practice. His principle was Love; its application Justice; its practice brotherly co-operation. In the devotedness and disinterestedness of the Prophet of Nazareth was the birth of Association – Association is Christianity, carried into every relation and detail of human life.

When in contrast with the sublime promise of the Gospel of Love, we seek an explanation of the social outrages which, after eighteen centuries, still disgrace Christendom, girdling all lands with battlements of bones, darkening them with prisons, hospitals and poor houses, and making commerce, which should be bountiful of good, and of good only, to savage nations too often but the transfer of civilized vices; do we not instantly see, that these atrocious wrongs are owing to the fact, that nominal Christians have not dared, do not dare, to trust God, Humanity, and their own hearts? They have substituted selfish policy for Divine Order, and expediency for justice; they have preferred force to peace, and worldly cunning to the simple wisdom of mutual kindness. Feeble hope in Providence, disbelief in the power of Good to subdue evil – faithlessness to professed principles of Brotherhood are the causes of Christian (!) War, and Fraud and Poverty.

But thanks to the Infinite Father, we cannot be blind

William H. Channing

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to the signs of promise all around us. Not in vain have been the efforts of Modern Europe and of this country, to secure the Free possession of Human Rights, and thereby the full performance of Human Duties. The Union of Freemen is the ideal of existing society. The Spirit of Reform, everywhere triumphant assures us, that the Divine Life of Love animates this generation. And all Reforms concentrate in Association; in the effort to establish households of United Families, one in all interests, where all may live for each, and each for all. Brethren! they have told us, that the age of chivalry, and romance and heroic endeavor was passed. Before the men of this day is opening a career of peaceful conquest and noble usefulness, of reverence and loyalty, of liberty and joy, in contrast with which the destructive deeds and so called glorious triumphs of by gone times grow dim.

With what purity from selfish purposes, with what calm, sound judgment, with what courage and manly firmness, does it become Associationists to enter upon this boundless field of Conservative Reform which Providence has opened. . .

RESOLVED, 1st. That we feel it to be our great privilege to live in an age which Providence now summons to establish relations of thorough, mutual kindness between man and man—within each community between its families—within each nation between its communities, and among the various nations which are members of the Human Race, and that we desire to express due gratitude by devoted service in this sublime cause of Religion, Humanity, and Universal Good.

RESOLVED, 2d. That the Justice which Love commands includes—

I. A reverent welcome to every child born by the Providence of God into this terrestrial world.

II. The highest culture of its physical, intellectual and moral powers under healthy, wise and holy influences.

III. Free opportunity and encouragement of every Man, Woman, Child, to exercise their peculiar powers for their own improvement, the welfare of their brethren, and the Glory of God.

IV. The exactest possible Recompense for all modes and degrees of usefulness.

V. Social position in accordance with Character, Intelligence and Energy.

VI. Access to all Social, Literary, Artistic and Religious privileges and enjoyments of the community of which they are members.

VII. Assured support in infirmity, and means and aid to Reform in wrong-doing.

VIII. Liberty in Conscience, Speech and Action to obey the Will of God, limited only by the sympathy, advice and example of Fellow Beings.

RESOLVED, 3d. That Association will practically secure these Rights which the Justice of Love commands for every Man, Woman, Child, for the following among many reasons:

I. By its system of Joint Stock Ownership it reconciles the Individual with the Collective Interest, and thus makes the community the guardian of each of its members, and stimulates each member to devotedness for the general good.

II. By its Guaranty of adequate Support, which it insures to every individual, it removes debasing anxiety and sordid care, and gives a generous impulse to the freest and fullest expansion of all energies.

III. By its Organization of the Seven great branches of human activity or Industry, viz: Domestic Economy, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Educa-

tion, Science, Art, according to the law of Groups and Series; by its arrangements of Combined and Social in place of Incoherent and Isolated Labor; by the opportunity it affords for varied and exhilarating, instead of monotonous and drudging employment; by minute division instead of complexity in every avocation; and finally by the prospect offered of assured recompense and certain gain, it makes Industry attractive.

IV. By its division of Profits according, 1st. To the amount of Labor, Skill and Capital employed: 2d. According to the character of Necessity, Usefulness and Agreeableness of work, it administers just and precise recompense to every Series, Group and Member.

V. By the pecuniary independence, which it establishes, through its economies and modes of distribution, for every individual, it gives rise to just and courteous relations, based upon qualities of mind and heart, in place of distinctions resting on accidental circumstances; and thus substitutes for jealous competitions, respectful co-operation – for capricious partialities, true loyalty – and for private selfishness, public spirit.

VI. By the constant presence of fellow-beings, animated by like interests, in all places of work, study and recreation, it surrounds every one by a Public Conscience – warding off temptations, advising in difficulty, supporting in weakness, redeeming from wrong; and thus substitutes sympathy for constraint, and encouragement for penalty.

VII. By making it the evident interest of the Community, and of its Series, Groups and Individuals, that the highest powers of body, mind and heart, should be fully developed in every member, it converts society into a School of Mutual Educators.

VIII. By this general spirit of physical, intellectual and moral culture; by the libraries, scientific col-

lections, facilities for study and refinement which it accumulates; and by the opportunity constantly offered of blending application with principles, and experiment with theory, it secures systematic and symmetric growth of the whole nature throughout the whole of life.

IX. By this Integral culture of both sexes from childhood through youth; by opportunities of complete acquaintance; by freedom from mercenary motives; by constant co-operation; by security from mean anxieties; by prevention of secret and illicit connections by the presence of Childhood; by the co-equality secured in all respects to Woman – it purifies, elevates, and sanctifies Marriage, and thus ennobles all other relations; which must be determined by the character of this most central and holy of human relations.

X. By thus dignifying Labor, Thought, Affection, it makes the whole of life Religious, every place an Altar, every day Holy, every deed Worship; and thus amidst increasing joy and beauty, and constant love for the Neighbor, raises all to devoted love of the Heavenly Father.

XI. Lastly, By establishing relations of Love within each separate Community, it removes the causes of dissension between different Communities, and prepares the way for spreading among all Nations in deed and in truth, Glory to God, Universal Peace, and Goodwill to Men.

RESOLVED, 4th. That regarding Association not as an invention of human ingenuity, but as a discovery of the divine order of society, we solemnly protest against retarding this Providential and Humane movement by premature, rash and fragmentary undertakings; and foreseeing, as we do, that success in these enterprises requires disinterestedness, sagacity, and perseverance,

we appeal to the friends of our Race with the request, that they do not attempt to establish Association, until

I. They have secured the co-operation of a sufficient number of men and women of congenial tempers, devoted from generous impulse and conviction to this cause of God and Man; until

II. They have maturely deliberated upon and distinctly comprehended the laws of Order and the arrangements which Justice prescribes; until

III. They have actually at their command such ample capital as to preserve them from anxieties and risks;

For only where these conditions are fulfilled can there be realized that Attractive industry, and abundant Wealth and Beauty, which are the foundations upon which the higher Social and Religious Harmonies must be reared. Only thus can Associations be successfully established. But we rejoice in the assurance, that when once established, they will act with ever increasing power, thoroughly to redeem the tens of thousands oppressed by want and temptation, from their present miseries—miseries, which no Superficial Charities but only Radical Justice can relieve or cure.

RESOLVED, 5th. That in view of the vastness of the change proposed by Association; the ignorance in regard to it which still so generally prevails; the unfitness for its relationships and duties which false or defective Education has rendered so nearly universal; the infidelity, if not hostility, of the great mass of those who possess Capital or Wealth; the necessarily inadequate pecuniary resources of the pioneer Associations already commenced; and the certainty that much waste, both of efforts and means, must attend the commencement of changes so mighty, we earnestly advise the Friends of Association every where, to proceed with circumspec-

tion and deliberation in all practical movements, and, wherever circumstances shall not imperatively dictate a different course, to concentrate their energies and efforts on the experiments already commenced in preference to undertaking new enterprises.

RESOLVED, 6th. That the Name, which in this first Annual Convention of the Friends of Association based upon the Truths of Social Science discovered by Charles Fourier, we adopt for ourselves, recommend to those who throughout our country would co-operate with us, and by which we desire to be always publicly designated, is, The Associationists of the United States of America. We do not call ourselves Fourierists, for the two following reasons: 1st. Charles Fourier often and earnestly protested in advance against giving the name of any individual man to the Social Science, which he humbly believed to be, and reverently taught as a discovery of Eternal Laws of Divine Justice, established and made known by the Creator. 2d. While we honor the magnanimity, consummate ability and devotedness of this good and wise man, and gratefully acknowledge our belief that he has been the means, under Providence, of giving to his fellow men a clue which may lead us out from our actual Scientific and Social labyrinth, yet we do not receive all the parts of his theories, which in the publications of the Fourier school are denominated "Conjectural"–because Fourier gives them as speculations–because we do not in all respects understand his meaning–and because there are parts which individually we reject; and we hold ourselves not only free, but in duty bound, to seek and obey Truth, wherever revealed, in the Word of God, the Reason of Humanity and the Order of Nature.

RESOLVED, 7th. That with a solemn sense of our responsibilities as advocates of the cause of Universal Un-

ity, with an earnest desire to secure consistent co-operation among the Associations of the United States, and to prevent in the outset all possibility of those disunions among Associations, which waste the resources and paralyze the energies of existing Society, we hereby declare that, in our opinion, the time has arrived, when it becomes the imperative duty of the several Associations in our country, which are based upon the truths of Social Science as announced by Fourier, to take measures for the immediate formation of a Union of Associations; whose objects, among others, should be:

I. A complete Organization of Industry in each and all such Associations.

II. The establishment of a system of Integral Education.

III. The securing of harmonious co-operation in all respects between the Associations.

IV. The using as far as practicable, for the benefit of all, the peculiar advantages which each one possesses of soil, location, climate, &c.

V. The adoption of a uniform system of Finance, and such Business relations as may make the property of individuals most available for the purposes of Association.

And, as these objects can be most successfully attained by the adoption of Articles of Confederation, we recommend to all existing Associations:

1st. Carefully and thoroughly to consider what arrangements and provisions will be necessary to secure these ends.

2d. To select from among their members such persons as are best fitted to correspond upon the subject with other Associations.

3d. To appoint and empower Delegates to attend a meeting which shall be held at some place, hereafter

appointed by the Executive Committee, on the first Monday of October, 1844, for the purpose of deliberating upon the above mentioned Union.

RESOLVED, 8th. That accepting as "Associationists" do, the Law of Groups and Series as the Divinely appointed order on which the organization of Human Societies, should rest not merely of our land and time, but of all lands and times; and believing that the true organization of Society in every Nation is the most sure and direct mode of uniting all Nations in the Combined Order, we wish in this first National Convention to manifest our desire of concerted action with our Fellow Associationists in Europe. For this end we hereby appoint Albert Brisbane, Representative from this Body, to confer with them, as to the best modes of mutual co-operation. And we assure our brethren in Europe that the disinterestedness, ability and perseverance with which our Representative has devoted himself to the promulgation of the Doctrine of Association in the United States entitle him to their most cordial confidence. Through him we extend to them with joy and trust the Right Hand of Fellowship; and may Heaven soon bless all Nations with a Compact of Perpetual Peace.

RESOLVED, 9th. That this Convention adjourns to meet again, in the City of New York, at such time next Spring, as the Executive Committee may designate. And meanwhile, for the purpose of giving efficiency to the means of diffusing what we believe to be Truth and Glad Tidings of Love throughout our Land, we do hereby appoint: Horace Greeley, Parke Godwin, William H. Channing, Albert Brisbane, Osborne Macdaniel, Charles J. Hempel, Frederick Grain, James P. Decker, D. S. Oliphant, Rufus Dawes, Edward Giles, Pierro Maroncelli, City of New York; Solyman Brown,

Leraysville Phalanx, Bradford county, Pa.; George Ripley, Brook Farm Association, West Roxbury, Mass.; Alonzo M. Watson, Jefferson county Industrial Association, N.Y.; E. P. Grant, Ohio Phalanx, Belmont county, Ohio; John White, Cincinnati Phalanx, Cincinnati, Ohio; Nathan Starks, North American Phalanx, Monmouth county, N.J.—as an Executive Committee, during the recess of this Convention, whose duties shall be—

1st. To edit the *Phalanx* as the organ of the Associationists of the United States.

2nd. To receive, record, and diffuse information in regard to existing Associations and others which may be organized within the year.

3rd. To communicate all possible intelligence to those who in any part of the country may wish to unite practically with any Associations.

4th. To arrange a system of concerted action with Associationists throughout the United States, for the thorough and systematic diffusion of Social Science, and a knowledge of the practical details of Association.

5th. To attend to any business which Associations may empower them to transact.

6th. To carry into effect the objects of this Convention as set forth in the preceding resolutions, and the accompanying Address to the people of the United States. . .

[P. 113] On the first day a Delegation of English Socialists, from a society in this city, presented itself. The two gentlemen composing the delegation, claimed seats as members of the Convention. The call of the Convention was read, and they were asked if they could unite with the Convention according to the terms of the call, as "friends of Association based on the principles of Charles Fourier." This they said they could not do,

as they differed with the partisans of Fourier in fundamental principles, and particularly in regard to Religion and Property. They held to Community of Property, and did not accept our views of a Providential and Divine Social Order. They were informed that the objects of the Convention were of a special and business character, and that a controversy and discussion of principles could not be entered into. Seats as members of the Convention were therefore denied; but they were allowed freely to express their opinions, and treated with the utmost courtesy, without reply.

4. AMERICAN UNION OF ASSOCIATIONISTS

The *Harbinger*, Feb. 10, 1849, p. 120. Constitution of the Union.

I. The name of this Society shall be the American Union of Associationists. All members of Affiliated Unions, who are regular contributors to the funds of the Affiliated Union to which they belong, are the members of the American Union, and as such, may participate in the deliberations of the Annual Convention, but are not entitled to vote, unless they shall be delegates to such Convention. No local Union shall be recognized as Affiliated, which does not make an annual payment of at least twelve dollars, to the Treasurer of the American Union.

II. Its purpose shall be the establishment of an order of Society based on a system of joint-stock property; co-operative labor; association of families; equitable distribution of profits; mutual guarantees; honors according to usefulness; integral education; unity of interests: which system we believe to be in accordance with the Laws of Divine Providence, and the Destiny of Man.

III. Its Method of operation shall be the appointment of agents, the sending out of lecturers, the issuing of publications, and the formation of a Series of Affiliated Societies, which shall be auxiliary to the parent Society, in holding meetings, collecting funds, and in every way diffusing the Principles of Association, and preparing for their practical application.

The funds of the Union shall consist of a Rent Fund, to be composed of the stated weekly contributions from

Affiliated Unions, and a Permanent Fund, to be composed of such contributions as may be made for the purpose, the principal of which shall be regularly invested by Trustees appointed by the Executive Committee, until otherwise appropriated by a two-thirds vote of the Union, at a regular meeting, and the interest in the meantime to be devoted to the expense of propagation, under the direction of the Executive Committee.

IV. An Annual Convention of this Society shall be held at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. The said Convention shall be composed of officers of the Affiliated Unions, not exceeding four from each Union, and three other delegates elected at large from each Union, provided, that in case any delegate is unable to attend the Convention, the delegation of the Affiliated Union to which he belongs, may choose a substitute. At each Annual Convention, the Officers of the Society shall be chosen for the ensuing year.

V. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice President, Foreign Corresponding Secretary, Domestic Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, and Seven Directors. The Presidents of the various Unions shall be, *ex officio*, Vice Presidents of the American Union. The Executive Committee shall be composed of the Officers of the American Union, any seven of whom shall constitute a quorum at regular meetings, to be held during the first week of each month, by order of the President; and this Committee shall be responsible for the general management of the Union; and shall have power to fill occasional vacancies in the offices of the Union.

VI. This Constitution may be amended at any Anniversary Meeting, by a vote of two-thirds of the members present.

OFFICERS: Horace Greeley, *President*; George Ripley, *Domestic Cor. Secretary*; Parke Godwin, *Foreign Cor. Secretary*; Edward Giles, *Recording Secretary*; Edmund Tweedy, *Treasurer*; Marcus Spring, Charles A. Dana, O. Macdaniel, New York; Alexander Harrison, James Sellers, Jr., Philadelphia; W. S. Channing, J. S. Dwight, Boston–*Directors.*

AFFILIATED UNIONS. Boston–William H. Channing, *President*; J. Butterfield, *Vice President*; Anna Q. T. Parsons, *Cor. Secretary*; J. Botume, Jr., *Recording Secretary*; Calvin Brown, *Treasurer*; J. Walcott, Calvin Brown, Caroline Hildreth, *Directors.* Organized, November, 1846. Members 58–37 males, 21 females.

Philadelphia–James Kay, *President*; Hannah L. Stickey, *Vice President*; James Sellers, Jr., *Corresponding Secretary*; Samuel Sartain, *Librarian*; Henriette A. Hadry, *Recording Secretary*; William Elder, *Chief of the Group of Indoctrination*; A. W. Harrison, *Treasurer*; Paschal Coggins, *Chief of the Group of Practical Affairs*; Sara Elder, *Chief of the Group of Social Culture.* Organized, April 7, 1847. Members 56. 35 Males, 21 Females.

Providence, R.I.–Joseph J. Cooke, *President*; P. W. Ferris, *Vice President*; John L. Clarke, *Secretary*; Stephen Webster, *Treasurer.* Organized 16th April, 1847. Members 30.

AFFILIATED UNIONS AND TREASURERS: Lowell, Mass., Wm. T. G. Pierce; New Bedford, Mass., Chas. H. Coffin; Springfield, Mass., G. W. Swazey; Newburyport, Mass., Rev. E. A. Eaton; Amesbury, Mass., Rev. S. C. Hewitt; Mattapoisett, Mass., J. D. Sturtevant; Nantucket, Mass., ——; Bangor, Maine, Mary Poor; Pittsford, Vt., Dr. J. S. Ewing; Clarendon, Vt., C. Woodhouse; Brandon, Vt., G. W. Walker; Middle-

bury, Vt., ——; New York, N.Y., J. T. White; Albany, N.Y., Tappan Townsend; Westmorland, N.Y., ——; Utica, N.Y., ——; Kings Ferry, N.Y., ——; Pittsburgh, Pa., James Nichols; Wheeling, Va., Wm. McDiarmid; Cincinnati, Ohio, J. B. Russell; Ceresco, Fond du Lac Co., Wis., W. Chase.

5. RELATION TO OTHER REFORMS

(a) ABOLITION

(1) The *Phalanx* on Slavery.
The *Phalanx*, Nov. 4, 1843, pp. 17-19.

. . . This great question must be met and solved, but it may be done peaceably by the exercise of reason, and for the benefit of all classes, both the slave-holder and the slave, or it may be done violently by appealing to passion, in a spirit of fanaticism and headlong fury which will be destructive to the interests of all. It must be solved by science. A thorough and complete extinction of slavery can only be effected upon just and scientific principles.

But it is in vain to suppose that slavery can be tolerated as a permanent institution, that it can continue forever, as may perhaps be desired by some who would confiscate the future to false conservatism and mistaken individual interests. It is opposed both to the spirit of Democracy, and to the spirit of Christianity, which after centuries of struggles are bearing down all old oppressive institutions to realize practically in human societies the great fundamental principles upon which they are based, the universal Brotherhood and Unity of the human race, and universal Liberty, Equality and Happiness among mankind, of which as yet they have had but such a faint glimmering in the future, and have possessed so little. . .

But whilst we predict this great result, let us hasten to state that the institution of Slavery should not be attacked violently, as it is by the Abolition party, which seems to think that nothing else is false in our social or-

ganization, and that slavery is the only social evil to be extirpated. This one-sided view, with the dangerous rashness to which one-sided and partial considerations of social questions generally give rise, will, if persisted in, inevitably lead to violence and revolution, and beside producing fatal consequences, will terminate in most meagre and inadequate results. The rights of the master may be spoliated, and the slave freed from personal bondage by insurrection and violence, but without a wise provision for an altered condition, the change would only bring servitude and oppression in another and more aggravated form.

A reform in the institution of Slavery in this and all other countries, must proceed hand in hand with a great and radical Social Reform, and chattel slavery like all other kinds of servitude, should be extinguished gradually as the false relations and unnatural conditions connected with Industry, which originate and maintain it, are corrected and abolished.

The primary cause of Slavery is repugnant and dishonorable industry. So long as Labor is allowed to remain in its present repugnant, degrading and ill-requited condition, slavery and servitude under various forms will continue to exist. We must go to the root of the Evil; we must extirpate the cause before we attempt to destroy the effect. . .

In attempting so great a reform as that of Slavery, which is of such vast national importance, and affects so many interests, the first steps to be taken are to examine carefully and analyze the various kinds of slavery and servitude existing on the earth—search for and ascertain the fundamental causes of their existence and then proceed to the discussion and adoption of the wisest and the best, the most prudent and peaceable

means of eradicating the causes. The effects will disappear of themselves as the causes are removed.

The whole Industry of the South – particularly agriculture – is dependent upon slave-labor. Hence the question is so important. If you abolish slavery suddenly, and without any preparatory measures to establish in its stead a better system of Industry, which will guaranty a continued prosecution of labor, you derange and paralyze production and produce a state of things in which the slaves are worse off than before, and suffer more than at present. No other system of Labor, no other Organization of Industry than that of Hired Labor, or Labor for Wages, is known by any party, (of reformers or politicians who have heretofore agitated the question of slavery,) and as we before mentioned, this system is but little better than slavery itself viewed in any light, and worse than slavery as a permanent institution, and would, therefore, be a wretched substitution. Before attempting to abolish slavery in the South, then, a new system of Industry must be discovered and provided. . .

Consistently with the spirit of the age, with its narrow and one-sided views and partial reforms, Southern slavery, a single branch only of universal slavery, has been attacked. This is the error of men who have thought chattel slavery to be the greatest of social evils because the manner of the wrong was most apparent, and not understanding the primary cause of slavery, or knowing the true remedy, have blindly hurried into a crusade as impolitic as dangerous, as ineffectual as unjust, against this single branch growing out of the great tap-root of social evil, which they leave untouched to throw out its upas shoots in some other form. They wage a war against slavery and slave-holders, but with-

out provision for the slaves or indemnification for the masters. But although the Abolitionists are wrong-headed and fanatical, they should not be despised or denounced as mad visionaries; they are earnest and many of them, no doubt, sincere men, and they are based on the great principles of Democracy and Christianity, the principles of Equality and Brotherhood, which being true and divine are destined to triumph over all obstacles, and eventually become practically realized on Earth. Instead of mere opposition and denunciation, the leaders of Society, statesmen and divines, should examine this great question of Slavery and learn how the system may be safely changed and replaced by a better one. The Industry of a nation is the foundation on which it rests, and cannot be violently interfered with without producing the worst results, unsettling the whole fabric of society, or possibly destroying it entirely. The Industry of the South must, therefore, be protected, and to do this must be a primary consideration in any project for freeing the slaves. Freedom would be no boon to the slave without education, and this also must be provided for before slavery can be abolished. The right of property is a sacred right which must be recognized, and before destroying the institution of slavery, means must be found for securing full and acceptable indemnification to the owner. These are the problems to be solved in connection with the question of slavery, and it is the duty of statesmen, especially, to study them and find solutions for them. It is a false position for our countrymen to put themselves in, to oppose and condemn abolition only, without endeavoring to effect the object aimed at in a peaceful and satisfactory manner to all parties. Mere opposition will give rise to a conflict which may end in a dissolu-

tion of the Union and the most frightful political and social convulsions. . .

(2) Horace Greeley to the Anti-Slavery Convention.
New York *Daily Tribune*, June 20, 1845, p. 1; quoted from the Cincinnati *Morning Herald*.

New-York, June 3d, 1845.

Dear Sir: I received, weeks since, your letter inviting me to be present at a General Convention of opponents of Human Slavery, irrespective of past differences and party organizations. I have delayed till the last moment my answer, hoping I might this season indulge a long-cherished desire and purpose by visiting your section and city, in which case I should certainly have attended your Convention. Being now reluctantly compelled to forego or indefinitely postpone that visit, I have no recourse but to acknowledge your courtesy in a letter.

In saying that I should have attended your Convention had I been able to visit Cincinnati this month, I would by no means be understood as implying that I would have claimed to share in its deliberations; still less that I should have been likely to unite in the course of action to which these deliberations will probably tend. Whether there "can true reconcilement grow" between those opponents of Slavery whom the late Presidential Election arrayed against each other in desperate conflict, I do not venture to predict. Most surely, that large portion of them with whom I acted and still act, have been confirmed in our previous convictions of duty by the result of that election, and by the momentous consequences which it has drawn after it. Not merely with regard to this question of Slavery, but to all questions, I have by that result been warned against pledging myself to any special and isolated Reform in such manner as to interfere with and fetter my freedom and

ability to act decisively and effectively upon more general and immediately practical considerations of National interest and Human well-being. You and yours, I understand, have been confirmed in an opposite conviction. Time must decide on which side is the right.

But while I cannot hope that I should have been able to unite with you upon any definitive course of action to be henceforth pursued by all opponents of Slavery, irrespective of past or present differences, I should have gladly met you, conferred with you, compared opinions, and agreed to act together so far as joint action is not forbidden by conflicting opinions. Animated by this spirit, I shall venture to set before you, and ask the Convention to consider, some views which I deem essential as bearing on the present condition and ultimate success of the Anti-Slavery movement.

What is Slavery? You will probably answer: "The legal subjection of one human being to the will and power of another." But this definition appears to me inaccurate on both sides – too broad, and at the same time, too narrow. It is too broad, in that it includes the subjection founded in the parental and similar relations; too narrow, in that it excludes the subjection founded in other necessities not less stringent than those imposed by statute. We must seek some truer definition.

I understand by Slavery, that condition in which one human being exists mainly as a convenience for other human beings – in which the time, the exertions, the faculties of a part of the Human Family are made to subserve, not their own development physical, intellectual and moral, but the comfort, advantage or caprices of others. In short, wherever service is rendered from one human being to another, on a footing of one-sided and not of mutual obligation – when the relation between the servant and the served is one not of affection and recip-

rocal good offices, but of authority, social ascendency and power over subsistence on the one hand, and of necessity, servility and degradation on the other – there, in my view, is Slavery.

You will readily understand, therefore, that, if I regard your enterprise with less absorbing interest than you do, it is not that I deem Slavery a less but a greater evil. If I am less troubled concerning the Slavery prevalent in Charleston or New-Orleans, it is because I see so much Slavery in New-York, which appears to claim my first efforts. I rejoice in believing that there is less of it in your several communities and neighborhoods; but that it does exist there I am compelled to believe. In esteeming it my duty to preach Reform first to my own neighbors and kindred, I would by no means attempt to censure those whose consciences prescribe a different course. Still less would I undertake to say that the Slavery of the South is not more hideous in kind and degree than that which prevails at the North. The fact that it is more flagrant and palpable renders opposition to it comparatively easy and its speedy downfall certain. But how can I devote myself to a crusade against distant servitude, when I discern its essence pervading my immediate community and neighborhood? nay, when I have not yet succeeded in banishing it even from my own humble household? Wherever may lie the sphere of duty of others, is not mine obviously here?

Let me restate what I conceive to be essential characteristics of Human Slavery:

1. Wherever certain human beings devote their time and thoughts mainly to obeying and serving other human beings, and this not because they choose to do so but because they must, there (I think) is Slavery.

2. Wherever human beings exist in such relations that a part, because of the position they occupy and the

functions they perform, are generally considered an inferior class to those who perform other functions, or none, there (I think) is Slavery.

3. Wherever the ownership of the soil is so engrossed by a small part of the community, that the far larger number are compelled to pay whatever the few may see fit to exact for the privilege of occupying and cultivating the earth, there is something very like Slavery. (I rejoice that this state of things does not, as yet, exist in our country.)

4. Wherever opportunity to Labor is obtained with difficulty, and is so deficient that the employing class may virtually prescribe their own terms and pay the Laborer only such share as they choose of the product, there is a very strong tendency to Slavery.

5. Wherever it is deemed more reputable to live without Labor than by Labor, so that a gentleman would be rather ashamed of his descent from a blacksmith than from an idler or mere pleasure-seeker, there is a community not very far from Slavery. And

6. Wherever one human being deems it honorable and right to have other human beings mainly devoted to his or her convenience or comfort, and thus to live, diverting the labor of these persons from all productive or general usefulness to his or her own special uses, while he or she is rendering or has rendered no corresponding service to the cause of human well-being, there exists the spirit which originated and still sustains Human Slavery.

I might multiply these illustrations indefinitely, but I dare not so to trespass on your patience. Rather allow me to apply the principles here evolved in illustration of what I deem the duties and policy of Abolitionists in reference to their cause. And here I would advise:

1. Oppose Slavery in all its forms. Be at least as careful not to be a slaveholder as not to vote for one. Be as tenacious that your own wives, children, hired men and women, tenants, &c., enjoy the blessings of rational Liberty, as the slaves of South Carolina.

2. Be at least as ardent in opposing the near as the distant forms of Oppression. It was by beginning at home that Charity was enabled to perform such long journeys, even before the construction of railroads. And it does seem clear to my mind that if the advocates of Emancipation would unite in well-directed, persistent efforts to improve the condition of the blacks in their own States and neighborhoods respectively, they could hardly fail to advance their cause more rapidly and surely than by any other course. Suppose, for example, they were to resolve in each State to devote their political energies in the first place to a removal of the shameful, atrocious civil disabilities and degradations under which the African race now generally labor, and to this end were to vote systematically for such candidates, whom their votes could probably elect, (if such there were) as were known to favor the removal of those disabilities: would not their success be sure and speedy? But

3. Look well to the Moral and Social condition of the Blacks in the Free States. Here is the refuge of the conscientious slaveholder. He declines emancipating, because he cannot perceive that emancipation has thus far conduced to the benefit of the liberated. If the mass of the blacks are to remain ignorant, destitute, unprincipled, degraded, (as he is told the Free Blacks are) he thinks it better that his should remain Slaves.

I know that the degradation of the Blacks is exaggerated. I know that so much of it as exists is mainly

owing to their past and present wrongs. But I feel also that the process of overcoming this debasement must be slow and dubious, while its causes continue to exist. I entreat, therefore, that those who have the ear of these children of Africa and of their philanthropic friends, shall consider the propriety of providing for them cities of refuge, townships – communities, I would say – wherein they may dwell apart from the mass of our people, in a social atmosphere of their own, not poisoned by the universal conviction of their inferiority, at least until they shall have had a chance to show whether they are or are not necessarily idle, thriftless, vicious, and content with degradation. I most earnestly believe the popular assumptions on these points erroneous; I ask that the Blacks have a fair chance to prove them so. A single township in each Free State mainly peopled by them, with churches, schools, seminaries for scientific and classical education, and all social influences untainted by the sense of African humiliation, would do more (if successful, as I doubt not) to pave the way for Universal Freedom, than reams of angry vituperation against slaveholders. These are in good part men of integrity and conscience; they see the wrong almost as clearly as you do: it is the right which they should see and cannot: will you enable them to see it? Yours, respectfully, HORACE GREELEY.

(3) Compensation to Slave Owners.

The *Harbinger*, June 5, 1847, p. 407; quoted from the *Planters' Banner* (Franklin, La.).

LECTURE ON ASSOCIATION. The subject of Property suggested a few words upon the subject of Slavery, as involving one form of property in the South, and invested rights. Upon this question, Mr. Macdaniel desired to define the position of Associationists. They regarded it as a question of political or social economy as

well as a question of a moral nature. It involved the consideration of property and the guiding law of Association is to respect all established or vested rights in society and never to do them violence by rash or unjust measures. In carrying out the universal reform of society then, there will be no robbery committed upon the master to liberate the slave; means will be found to compensate the master for any loss he may sustain through the abolition of slavery. Considered in a moral point of view, Associationists looked upon Slavery as a great evil, an opinion concurred in by every intelligent and liberal-minded slave-holder the lecturer had ever conversed with on the subject. They condemned it as an evil of vast magnitude and deplored its existence, but Associationists were philosophers as well as philanthropists – they were not simplists, who took but a single and one-sided view of a question; they were compound reasoners, who considered it on all sides and in all its bearings — and they did not confine their view to slavery as an evil to be got rid of. They looked abroad upon the face of society, throughout the whole world, and they saw that Negro slavery in the South, was one only of many forms of slavery that existed on the earth; that it was but one manifestation of the immense mass of evil which overwhelmed mankind. Consequently they did not contemplate the removal of this one evil alone and direct their exertions wholly against it; they wished to abolish all evil and all forms of slavery. They considered the White Slavery of the North in many respects worse than the black Slavery of the South. It was more heartless and had less direct sympathy with its victims. The laboring classes under the Wages system were subjected to calamities more dreadful than those suffered by personal slaves, as exhibited among the operatives of England, Ireland and other countries of Europe. The

same results would every where grow out of the Wages system among the free white laborers of the North as well as those of monarchical countries. Government was no protection to the laboring classes; Capital would in the course of time bring Labor into a state of complete subjection and nominal slavery, quite as oppressive as real slavery; Association would abolish slavery under all forms throughout the world!

(4) *Anti-Slavery Standard* on Association.
National Anti-Slavery Standard, Oct. 14, 1847, p. 78.

. . . Are we asked then why we do not devote ourselves to universal reform? Were it not a question asked so often, we should deem that it could only be put foolishly or without sincerity. But we answer – because, before we can settle the relations of man to society, we must know who and what is man. This is the problem, which, in our day and our country, notwithstanding its boasted theory, demands a solution. Till it is solved, there can be no such thing as universal reform. Here is the work of Anti-Slavery, and this, by the blessing of God, it means to accomplish.

And herein is the difference between the movement for Association and Anti-Slavery: the former is a demand for social re-organization, because the present system is one of anarchy, injustice, divided and opposite interests, and immense suffering. It is, nevertheless, the natural growth of the past, and is to be superseded, if at all, by a better growth, induced by experiment. Anti-Slavery, on the other hand, is the assertion of the first right of man – the right to himself. Here is a right established by the immutable law of God, and acknowledged by a universal instinct in every human being. No man is deprived of himself without knowing it, feeling the wrong, and in some sort protesting against it. In being robbed of himself, he is robbed of all his

rights. In being made a chattel, he is made nothing. No argument, and no theory is needed here. We assert only a self-evident truth. No sensible man – if the term, in such a connection, is not a paradox – ever defends Slavery, as in itself right, upon any other ground than that the negro is not a man. In confessing him to be a man, "a suspicion would follow," says Montesquieu, "that we are not Christians."

Anti-Slavery then underlies all other reforms, for it asserts the natural equality of all men, without regard to colour or condition. Until this principle is recognized as practically true, there can be no universal reform. There can be even no partial reform – we mean no perfect social organization among a part of the community – in a nation that holds one-sixth of its people in bondage; for the evils of Slavery are not confined to the slave; they permeate the relations of every individual in the land. The first work of the reformer, then, among us, is to establish universally the right of man to himself. . . It is no extravagant supposition that Slavery and Association may exist together. Slaveholders may resort to social re-organization for their own benefit, in which their slaves shall be no more considered than their horses or cattle. . .

(5) Wendell Phillips on Labor.
The *Liberator*, July 9, 1847.

One of the best speeches we heard in Boston, during the Anniversary week, was made by Wendell Phillips before the Anti-Slavery Society, against a proposition to abstain from the products of slave labor. He declared that, in his opinion, the great question of Labor, when it shall fully come up, will be found paramount to all others, and that the rights of the peasants of Ireland, the operatives of New England, and the laborers of South America, will not be lost sight of in sympathy for the Southern slave. Mr. Phillips is on the high road to the principles of integral social reform. May he and all other philanthropists be brought to perceive that Slavery, War, Poverty

and Oppression, are inseparable from the system of Civilization – the system of antagonistic interests; that the only effectual remedy is the introduction of a higher system, the system of union of interests and union of industry.

The notice which has been taken of the above paragraph from the *Harbinger*, leads me to correct the erroneous impression it conveys. I do not recollect making any such assertion as that above stated. The resolution under discussion, at the time referred to, spoke of the "unrequited products" of the coerced toil of the slave. In commenting upon this expression, I said, that if it was our duty to abstain from all the products of unrequited labor, the principle would apply to many cases beside that of the slave, and shut us out from the use of many articles in the market, indeed most of the manufactured ones. I instanced the coal mines of England – the mines of other countries – and the manufactures of cotton, woollen, linen and silk. From the remarks of the *Harbinger*, some may suppose that I placed the Laborer of the North and the Slave on the same level, and talked perhaps of "white slavery," of "wages slavery," &c. I did no such thing – I dissent entirely from those doctrines. Except in a few crowded cities and a few manufacturing towns, I believe the terms "wages slavery" and "white slavery" would be utterly unintelligible to an audience of laboring people, as applied to themselves. There are two prominent points which distinguish the laborers in this country from the slaves. First, the laborers, as a class, are neither wronged nor oppressed: and secondly, if they were, they possess ample power to defend themselves, by the exercise of their own acknowledged rights. Does legislation bear hard upon them? Their votes can alter it. Does capital wrong them? Economy will make them capitalists. Does the crowded competition of cities reduce

their wages? They have only to stay at home, devoted to other pursuits, and soon diminished supply will bring the remedy. In the old world, absurd and unjust institutions injure all classes, and, of course, oppress first and most cruelly that class, the weakest, whose only wealth is its labor. Here, from the same cause, the imperfections which still cling to our social and political arrangements bear hardest on the laborer. A wiser use of the public lands, a better system of taxation, disuse of war and of costly military preparation, and more than all, the recognition of the rights of women, about which we hear next to nothing from these self-styled friends of labor, will help all classes much. But to economy, self-denial, temperance, education, and moral and religious character, the laboring class, and every other class in this country, must owe its elevation and improvement. Without these, political and social changes are vain and futile. With them, all, except the equality of women, sink into comparative insignificance. Many of the errors on this point seem to me to proceed from looking at American questions through European spectacles, and transplanting the eloquent complaints against capital and monopoly, which are well-grounded and well applied there, to a state of society here, where they have little meaning or application, and serve only for party watch-words. W. P.

(6) Ripley's Criticism.
The *Harbinger*, July 17, 1847, p. 93.

. . . We are sorry that Mr. Phillips has no better method to propose of elevating the laborer in this country, than the preaching of "economy, self-denial, temperance, education, and moral and religious character." It is a poor consolation to tell the haggard operative in our factories, or the watch-worn sailor in the forecastle, that he can escape the wrongs of capital by becoming

a capitalist himself. This may give relief to individuals who have craft and skill sufficient to apply the rule; but the class remains with just as many victims to bear the intolerable burdens which a false organization of society impose upon them. It is idle to talk of the laborer, on the lowest round of the social ladder, about getting to the top of it by the observance of morality. If he has a human heart in his bosom, it is not so much to reach the top that he wants, as to do away the infernal system by which a lower order of society is doomed to toil and slave their lives out for a comparatively small portion of the favorites of fortune. . .

(b) OWENISM - COMMUNISM

(1) An Owenite questions Brisbane.
Herald of the New Moral World (New York), Feb. 4, 1841.

. . . We should like to put a few questions to the *Future* [Brisbane's proposed journal].

1. Will not competition exist with many of its present evils under the associated reform proposed in the above paper?

2. Will there not be competition in the ranks of Theologians, and the manifestation of the bitterness of sectarianism?

3. Will there not be dissatisfaction among the people, consequently unhappiness, inasmuch as some will be able to command splendid equipages, livery servants, and princely mansions, while others being comparatively poor, and not being able to curb their animal propensities, will seek by strife, chicanery, and fraud, to be equal, if not superior to their fellows?

4. Will there not be inducements left for forgery and other deceptive measures?

5. Will the people by this association be led to a knowledge of the real nature of man, and if not, will

they know how to govern him in the best possible way, so as to make him moral, virtuous, and happy?

6. Will there not be prisons, dungeons, inflictions or physical punishment for those who are supposed to create their own wills, form their own faith, and control their own actions, and the circumstances by which they are surrounded?

7. If these things are left unsettled, is there any guarantee that avarice and fraud will not break out and oppress the weak and break up the association?

8. Will not the proposed association, like the present competitive arrangements of Society, give undue and unnatural influence to capital, and consequently be oppressive to the poor, but industrious, producer?

9. After the poor have laboured for the proposed Association, till old age afflicts them, what is then to become of them? Will they go begging and live on alms?

We maintain that our principles being the result of matters of fact, and not fiction, reality and not vision, demonstration and not theory, settles these all important questions on such a base as not to be shaken by the scrutiny of the philosopher, the penetration of the divine, nor the talent of the eloquent.

(2) Owen on Fourierism.
The *Phalanx*, Dec. 9, 1844.

New Harmony, Indiana, 25th October, 1844.

[P. 296] My dear Sir: I have read with great interest almost all the numbers of the *Phalanx* which you gave me, and the remainder I will read so soon as time will permit. The result of what I have read, has been to increase my respect and affection for Fourier and his disciples, and to wish the latter speedy and full success, to the extent that the discoveries of the former will lead when advocated by so much talent and disinterestedness

as appears in these papers. The system impressed on the mind of Fourier and pursued by his disciples, is an excellent transition system from the extreme of irrationality toward a rational condition of the human mind and of society; and the disciples of this transition system are better prepared for pioneers, to lead many out of the old system, than those persons generally who have hitherto professed to be members of the full rational system – a system which so far has been little understood by them or the public. Hitherto there has been no efficient preparation made in the general mind of what is called the civilized part of the world, to comprehend the full rational system of society. There have been no individuals trained through a sufficiently extended practice in all the natural departments of society, to enable them to analyze it into its original elements, and to put them again together in accordance with their utility, in their due proportions, and in unison with the eternal laws of human nature. Fourier had the conception; but from his want of practical knowledge in the various departments of life – from his misconception of the powers of society acquired within the last century – from his inexperience of the feelings and emotions created by the present system of society, in the various classes of which it has been composed – and his want of depth in penetrating to the real causes of the misery of mankind, arising from the inexperience stated, and thus deriving his notions from an enlarged and over-heated imagination instead of unchanging facts or the divine laws of humanity, he was unequal to devise a "Science of society" based on eternal laws, and simple and consistent throughout all its parts, and equal to the eternal wants and progress of the human race. Yet Fourier had qualities of mind and desires for the happiness of man, exclusive of creed and clime, which

place him greatly in advance of all former reformers; and he is well entitled to be regarded by his disciples with the feelings which they entertain for him.

After reading Fourier's writings as translated in the *Phalanx*, and the writings of his very talented disciples, the impressions formerly made on my mind respecting the science of human nature and the science of society remain unchanged, except that these writings have made them, if possible, more clear and distinct, as confirming them in every particular. But Fourierism must precede Rationality. The step from the extreme of irrationality in principle and practice, to full rationality in both, is too long a stride for the present race of men to make at once, and the intermediate step is laying beautifully and I trust effectually by Fourier's disciples. But to produce universal peace, cordial affection, one interest, and permanent happiness among mankind, all the religions of the world and all desire for private property, or inequality of education or condition, must cease. Until then justice, virtue, and happiness will remain unknown. If I mistake not the signs of the times, even this period is not very far off. . .

ROBERT OWEN.

(3) Kriege* criticizes Association.

Volks Tribun (New York), Sept. 26, 1846, p. 1.

. . . Von den verschiedenen Systemen des Sozialismus und Kommunismus haben die Systeme Fourier's und Owen's die meiste Verbreitung gefunden. Sowohl die Fourieristen als die Owenisten waren für die Propaganda ihrer Lehren äusserst thätig und sind es zum Theil noch. Nach der Natur der Sache fand Fourier mehr Anhang unter den Wohlhabenden, den soge-

* Herman Kriege was a member of the "Communist League" of Brussels of which Marx, Engels, and Weitling were prominent leaders. He was expelled from this league because his *Volks Tribun* advocated the demands of the National Reformers.—ED.

nannten Leuten von Bildung, Owen mehr unter den Arbeitern, den einfach kindlichen Gemüthern. In politischer Beziehung sind die Fourieristen meistens Whigs, die Owenisten meistens Demokraten. Fourier's System ist eben durch und durch kaufmännisch, es beruht auf einem Geschäftscalcul, und behandelt Arbeit, Kapital und Talent als gleich berechtigte Associe's, die den Ertrag unter sich zu theilen haben. Kein Wunder also, dass es unter den Whigs, den Kaufleuten, den Kapitalisten seine vorzüglichsten Bekenner zählt, – wären die Spekulanten gescheidt, sie bedächten sich keinen Augenblick, auf solch ein Geschäft einzugehen, – es wäre das der sicherste Weg, die Abhängigkeit der Arbeiter zu einer Herzenssache, zu einer Angelegenheit ihres persönlichen Interesses zu machen. Dass die heutigen Gesellschaftsverhältnisse nicht lange mehr fortbestehen können, davon überzeugt der gebildete Kapitalist sich leicht, die Durchführung des Fourieristischen Systems könnte ihm daher nur höchst erwünscht sein, da sie seinen Privilegien den Stempel der Ewigkeit aufdrücken und sein "Eigenthum" aller Gefahr enthoben würde, seinen Werth zu verlieren oder einmal vom Volke auf einen älteren Besitztitel hin confiscirt zu werden. Nach den Vorstellungen der Fourieristen würde der dazu abgerichtete Arbeiter in ihren Phalansteren aus Neigung thun, was er in der heutigen Gesellschaft thut, um sich gegen den Hunger zu wehren. Es würde gewissermassen seine Religion werden, den Kapitalisten reich zu machen. Dafür soll denn aber auch alles so eingerichtet werden, dass der Arbeiter immer reichlich zu essen hätte, gut wohnte, gut gekleidet würde, noch besser vielleicht als der Sklav im Süden. Aber die liberalen Herren verrechnen sich in einem: der Mensch, der einmal etwas von Freiheit geschmeckt hat, lässt sich auch durch die idealsten

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Speisen und Wohlgerüche nicht in die Sklaverei zurückbringen, er verhungert lieber, als dass er sich wie ein Ochs an die Krippe binden lässt. Er bedarf vor allem des Bewusstseins, dass er unter seines Gleichen ist, und besitzt nicht Wiener Materialismus genug, um es sich an den Tischen seiner privilegirten Herren wohl schmecken lassen zu können. Und wenn es daher auch den Fourieristen ganz gleichgültig ist, ob sie unter der Protection monarchischer, konstitutioneller oder republikanischer Regierungen ihre Phalanstère aufbauen, so ist es dagegen auch dem ärmsten republikanischen Proletarier durchaus nicht gleichgültig, ob ihm 1/3 seines Rechtes wird, oder das ganze. Das Fourieristische System ist ein sehr feiner Versuch, die Bedürfnisse und Leidenschaften des Menschen durch Nahrung in Harmonie zu bringen, aber der Mensch ist keine Maschine, die man mathematisch vermessen kann und richten und stellen, wie man will. Das höchste Bedürfniss des freien Menschen, sein Bedürfniss nach Gleichheit findet im Fourierismus keine Beachtung. . .

[Translation of the above.]

Among the various systems of socialism and communism, those of Fourier and Owen have found the greatest number of advocates. The adherents of Fourier, as well as those of Owen, have been very active in propagating their teachings, and are in part still. According to the nature of the case, Fourier found more support among the well-to-do, the so-called people of culture, Owen more among the working men, the simple childish souls. In a political sense, the Fourierites are mostly Whigs, the Owenites mostly Democrates. Fourier's system is out and out commercial, it rests on a business basis, and treats labor, capital, and talent as partners, who are entitled to share the profits equally. No wonder, then, that this system finds its most active adher-

ents among the Whigs, merchants, and capitalists. Were the speculators wise, they would not hesitate for a moment entering upon such a business – this would be the surest way to make the dependence of the working man a matter of their personal interest and concern. That the present social conditions can not continue much longer, the educated capitalist is well convinced. The carrying out of the Fourier system could be a decided desideratum for him, since it gives to his vested rights the stamp of eternity, and his "property" would be relieved from all danger of losing its value or of being confiscated by people with an older title deed. According to the notions of the Fourierites, the working man in their Phalanx would do from inclination what, in his present work, he does to keep himself from hunger. It would become in a sense his religion to make the capitalist rich. For that end, everything should be so arranged that the working man would be well fed, well housed, well dressed, perhaps even better than the slave in the south. But the liberal gentlemen miscalculate in one thing: man, who has once tasted freedom, will not be bribed into slavery by the most tempting means of living. He would rather starve, than let himself be bound like an ox to the manger. He needs, above all things, the consciousness that he is among his equals, and he does not possess enough materialism to be able to enjoy himself at the table of his privileged masters. And if, therefore, the Fourierites are wholly indifferent whether they erect their Phalanx under the protection of monarchical, constitutional, or republican government, it is, on the other hand, not a matter of indifference to the poorest republican proletarian, whether he gets one third of his rights or the whole. The Fourier system is a very fine attempt to bring the needs and desires of mankind into harmony

by means of food, but mankind is no machine, which can be measured and directed and placed by mathematical computation, as one will. The greatest need of mankind, his need of equality, finds no consideration in Fourierism.

(c) THE WORKING MEN'S MOVEMENTS

(1) The Strike for Wages.
The *Phalanx*, Nov. 4, 1843, p. 30.

There has been a very general "turn-out" in all the Atlantic cities among the working classes. In every trade almost there has been a strike for higher wages, and generally the demands of the workmen have been complied with by the "masters." The reaction in the commercial world has stimulated business a little, which has increased slightly the demand for labor, and as the population of this country has not yet become dense and excessive, the working classes by the subversive means of counter-coalitions to those which exist under our present false system of Industry and Commerce – leagues of wealth and industrial monopoly – are enabled to obtain a small advance of wages. But how trifling and pitiful an amount of benefit, after all, they receive, by such means, even when and for the time they do succeed; and how miserably inadequate to meet their wants and satisfy their rights, are such beggarly additions to their wages. Will not the working classes, the intelligent producers of this country, see what a miserable shift and expedient to better their condition is a "strike for wages?" Will they not see how uncertain the tenure by which they hold the little advantage they gain by it? Will they not see how degrading the position which forces them to appeal to and beg concessions of employers? Will they not see this and a thousand other evils connected with a false system of

industry, and learn that the only remedy is a union among themselves to produce for themselves, to associate, and combine, and owning the land on which they live and the tools and machinery with which they work, enjoy the products of their own labor? We hope so, and then all such "civilized" false association, will be unnecessary. . .

(2) The Ten Hour System.
The *Phalanx*, May 18, 1844, p. 139.

. . . The agitation of the subject of a reduction of the time of labor in factories is not, however, confined to England; in this country, the evils of the factory system in the exaction of an undue portion of the time of the laborer—twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen and eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and in the excessive toil imposed on young children, have been severely felt. In a general way the subject has occupied the attention of politicians, from time to time, as elections were pending, and a vast deal of demagogism has been expended on it; but latterly it has been specially considered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and now in New England great feeling is manifested towards it in some of the manufacturing towns. An association of mechanics has been formed at Fall River, Massachusetts, for the special purpose of reducing the duration of labor to ten hours per day, and to effect this object, has started a spirited little sheet called the *Mechanic*. We wish, however, that we could impress upon our countrymen the degrading littleness and insufficiency of this attempt at a compromise of their rights, for it is neither more nor less than a demeaning compromise and dastardly sacrifice of their rights, for them to make terms which only modifies the condition but does not change the terms of dependence on masters. In wretched England, where the laborer is indeed a

poor, degraded, helpless being, it is well that any amelioration can be obtained; but here, where the laboring classes are intelligent and generally possess the ability to do full justice to themselves, it does appear to us to be excessively weak and trifling, if not disgraceful, for them to talk about a reform which at the most can relieve them temporarily of a few hours' oppressive toil – can convert them from twelve and fourteen to ten hour slaves – but cannot elevate them to the dignity of true independence! What a farce is boasted American freedom, if free-men are reduced to such beggarly shifts! Do they not see that they exhibit the badge of slavery in the very effort to mitigate its oppression? Free-men would not talk about terms which involve only a question of time of subjection to the authority and will of another – they would consult and act for their own good in all things without let or hindrance!

(3) The New England Working Men's Association, and the "Brook Farm Friends."

Voice of Industry, June 12, 1845, p. 3.

We cannot refrain from saying a few words respecting modes, measures, and means, in carrying on our warfare, which has given rise to some apparent conflictions and differences in our ranks. Our friends at "Brook Farm," and some others, are in favor of introducing strong measures, while others doubtless equally interested are not prepared for such entirely new and decided steps. For our own part, we see no good reason, why this should create disunion in the N. England workingmen's Association. There are many belonging to this Association, who are willing to adopt individually the measures proposed by our Fourier friends, but are unwilling to adopt them as a N. England Association. The reason is very obvious – we then should cut ourselves loose from many good and honest working-

men, who are willing to go with us as fast as they can see and understand. Now let us rightly understand each other, and keep in view the great object we wish to attain; and all disunion among our true friends, will vanish. Let the Associations, throughout the various towns act as primary schools, for the reception of pupils who are receiving the first rudiments in this labor reform. Let these several primary schools act in conjunction with the high school or N. England Association, where we can all meet, receive, and impart still higher lessons in our reform. In this way let our system of education, in harmony go on, from our town Associations, to the N. England Association – and from thence to the "Industrial Congress;" and while we through this gradual process educate the working community for a better state of society – while we are agitating the various speedy and partial ameliorations; beginning at the incipient stages of our glorious reform, taking servitude's victims, and pointing them on to a brighter day; let our friends of social science and philosophy continue to perfect their system of human elevation, and receive all who are prepared for so high a stand. Brothers, there exists no sound reason for disunion; our cause is one; our aim one; our principles are harmonious. Then let us labor together in our various capacities, like true friends and Christians, until the noble structure of free labor and "equal rights" shall be reared; and the victims of avarice and unjust degrading toil redeemed, and reinstated into their native manhood.

(4) Coöperation the Outcome.

The *Harbinger*, Dec. 16, 1848, p. 50. From *Third Quarterly Report* of the Group of Practical Affairs of the Philadelphia Union of Associationists, read Nov. 14th, 1848.

. . . The subject of guaranties, which was referred to this Group for final action, has engaged much attention. In advance of the Report of the Committee

charged with the duty of drafting a constitution, it may be stated that the plan in contemplation differs considerably from the one originally proposed. The marked success of the Workingmen's Protective Unions in the Eastern States, has induced the Committee to recommend an effort of the kind in Philadelphia, modified, however, so as to embrace other important objects. In years past, the working population of Massachusetts and other of the Eastern States, have made various attempts by means of strikes, mass conventions and Ten Hour Laws, to better the circumstances of their condition, but until now they have been in vain. They have now struck a blow in a different direction. By means of their Protective Unions, they bid fair to accumulate an enormous capital, while, at the same time, the expense of living is reduced to each member, to an amount equal to the interest on a thousand dollars a year.

The moral effect of an enterprise like that on the members themselves, and on the community around them, cannot be mistaken. It will lead to other important steps toward true Association, and will compel the middle men to examine more closely the *ism* which threatens to reduce the amount of their luxuries. Already do these Protective Unions, through their Central Commercial Agency in Boston, begin to exercise an influence on the markets, and if their members continue to increase, they will soon be enabled to buy and sell on their own terms. Twenty thousand persons are now connected with those Unions. An attempt will be made to introduce a system of labor exchange among them, and to confine, as far as possible, their dealings within themselves.

Whatever may be its ultimate effect on the condition of the laboring population, the Protective Union certainly produces immediate results of the most positive

character. It will abolish the present retail system; which, again, will react upon the value of real estate, and strike a blow at commercial monopolies. In the island of Nantucket, all the retail stores have been compelled to close their doors, two of the Protective Union stores being found sufficient to supply the market, and at greatly reduced rates.

A measure which involves such important consequences to the industrial and moneyed interests, cannot fail of creating a profound impression wherever it is introduced, and if only for the moral which it inculcates, is worthy of adoption in the shop-ridden city of Philadelphia.

The tendency to Association is of daily development both in Europe and America. Since Franklin suggested mutual insurance against fire, companies for that and similar objects have increased very rapidly, but at every step capital has sought to engross to itself all the gains. The latest attempt of this kind is seen in the Health Insurance Companies, a branch of insurance hitherto held by Beneficial Societies exclusively, the profits of which, always large, are used for the common benefit of the members. It will be the duty of this Union to resist every such encroachment by all the means in its power.

A plan of popular banking is now in extensive application in this city and neighborhood, which it may be useful to refer to in this connection. A few years ago, a number of individuals residing in Frankford in this county, organized themselves into what they termed a Building Association, their object being merely, by small savings united together and loaned at interest to each other, to provide dwelling-houses for themselves and families. The stock of the Association was divided into 500 shares, payable in monthly instalments of one dollar each. No one member was entitled to own more

than ten shares of the stock, and the Association was to continue in operation until each share was worth $200. The affairs of the Association were managed by a board of directors, elected annually, who loaned the funds out, on bond or mortgage to the highest bidder among the members, no member however, being privileged to borrow more than $200 for each share of stock owned by him. The loans were usually appropriated to the purchase of a dwelling, but might have been diverted to any other purpose. Twenty-five per cent premium was sometimes obtained for loans, and while it enriched the coffers of the Association, it was advantageous to the borrower, as he was a party entitled to and receiving a share of the profits. After the Association had fulfilled its object it was dissolved.

This is believed to have been the origin of the Building Associations which are now in successful operation in this city. A slight modification of the plan adopted by them, would constitute them Banks of the People, possessing all the advantages and powers of existing corporate institutions, with none of their evils, and it is to be hoped that the subject will be considered in connection with the proposed Protective Union. With the Banking feature superadded, the Union would be armed with a two-edged sword, which no amount of conservative do-nothingism could resist.

(d) THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848

The *Harbinger*, May 13, 1848, pp. 12, 13.
Resolutions adopted by the American Union of Associationists at its second annual convention.

RESOLVED, that it is our earnest hope that in the National Assembly of France the Associationists will hold the balance of power between the Conservatives seeking Constitutional Monarchy and the Radicals seeking a levelling Communism; for then will the peace of Eu-

rope be assured by the associative doctrine of the Brotherhood of Nations, and a civil war between classes give place to co-operative efforts among the capitalists and the working men, to secure unity of interests in a justly organized commonwealth; and that we hereby offer our cordial tribute of respect, and our heartfelt wishes of success to our Associative Brethren of France and Europe.

RESOLVED, that in this era of falling dynasties and uprising multitudes, of shattered privileges and extravagant claims for equality, it becomes all constitutionalists, jurists, lovers of order, on the one hand, and all seekers for emancipation, justice to the people and the rule of public opinion on the other, to study the principles and plans of Associationists, wherein "Legitimacy" and "Liberty," the stability of law and the opportunity of reform are reconciliated by an organization of all social functions, which ensures the harmonious growth of man, collectively and individually.

RESOLVED, that the journalists who confound the Associationists desiring just distributions of functions, property and honors, with the Communists seeking the destruction of all distinctions, are guilty of an ignorance scarcely to be pardoned in those who profess to be the enlighteners of the public mind, or of a moral duplicity which unfits them utterly to be the guides of the public conscience; and that we hereby pronounce all who class the "Fourierists," calmly uttering their hopeful watchword of "The Fraternity of Nations and Classes," with the "Terrorists" wildly shouting their war cry of "away with government, with property, with peace," to be slanderers of the only men who propose a practical means of reconciling liberty and law.

RESOLVED, that at a period when the heavens of Christendom are opened, and civilized order is being

swept away as by a deluge, the Associationists rejoice with serene confidence that the ark of Social Science floats safe upon the flood; and that with prophetic assurance we already welcome the harbinger who brings us the olive leaf of a peaceful future, and stand upon the mountain tops of a regenerated world. We call upon our fellow Associationists – as in faith they see the bow of promise spanning the retiring clouds of revolution to unite in grateful adoration of their Heavenly Father, who has given us his covenant that seed time and harvest shall never fail, and to offer up their whole lives in the acceptable worship of a beneficent work. . .

RESOLVED, that we rejoice in the assertion of a great political principle by the Provisional Government of France, in the establishment of a Department of Industry; and that we hereby authorize and direct Executive Committee to address a memorial to Congress, in the name of the American Union of Associationists, and to be subscribed by its officers, calling for the establishment of a Bureau of Industry under the National Government of the United States. And we do also advise and request the affiliated Unions to address similar memorials to the Legislature of the respective States in which such Unions are located. . .

6. THE PRACTICE OF ASSOCIATION[25]

(a) THE BEGINNING

New York *Daily Tribune*, May 3, 1842, p. 1.

We are in constant receipt of letters, inquiring when a first Association will be commenced, and where it will be located. The first question, we cannot answer, but we hope, and with some confidence, that if our doctrine spreads as rapidly as it has done since the *Tribune* has been open to us, that we may be able to commence operations next spring. A first Association should be commenced near a large city, which would offer a good market for its fruits, vegetables, poultry, and other lighter products – the cultivation and care of which are so attractive, and adapted to the women and children. There are other reasons why the vicinity of a large city would offer facilities, which would be very necessary in the beginning; we will explain them fully later. If the organizing of the first Association were entrusted to us, which it probably would have to be, we should wish it located near the city of New York.

(b) ORGANIZING A PHALANX

The *Phalanx*, April 1, 1844, p. 98.

The Convention for the purpose of organizing an Industrial Association on the plan of the late Charles Fourier, met [February 22] in pursuance to public notice previously given, in the lecture room of the Universalist Church, in Walnut Street, and proceeded to

[25] No attempt is made in this section to give complete documentary accounts of the phalanxes. This has already been done by J. H. Noyes in his *History of American Socialisms*. A few documents not hitherto published, are here reproduced.– Ed.

business, by appointing Dr. William Price, President, and John White and Wm. McDiarmid, Secretaries.

The Circular and Address, setting forth the objects of the Convention, were then read by the President.

Dr. J. Radcliffe, of Dayton, presented a resolution from the friends of Association in that place, expressing their approbation of the movement contemplated by the Convention.

On motion, the Catalogue of names of those who had already enrolled themselves as friends of the cause of Association and ready to co-operate in the formation of a Phalanx, was read.

A letter from Horace Greeley, Albert Brisbane, and O. Macdaniel, of New York City; and one from Wm. H. Channing, Editor of the *Present*, also of New York, were read before the Convention.

On motion, resolved, that Doctor Radcliffe, Wade Loofbourrow, Esq., D. K. Meader, W. Kirkup and J. W. Smith, be a committee to prepare the business for the afternoon session.

Mr. Loofbourrow, of Washington, Fayette county, then addressed the Convention, in which he made some very appropriate and thrilling remarks on the means furnished in Association for the elevation of the state and condition of woman, and concluded with a beautiful and happy reference to, and brief illustration of Fourier's "Theory of the Passions."

Three o'clock, p.m. The Committee appointed to prepare business for the convention, reported the following resolutions:

1. RESOLVED, that an Association, upon the principles advocated by the late Charles Fourier, as published in this country by A. Brisbane, in his "Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association," be now established; to

be located at such a point as may be deemed most eligible, and adapted to the views contemplated by this meeting, which are, the amelioration of the condition of Man.

2. RESOLVED, that a committee of twenty be appointed to receive additional subscriptions of stock for this Association.

3. RESOLVED, that a committee of nine be appointed to seek out a suitable site for the Domain; and that said committee report the result of its examinations to a future meeting of this convention.

Seven o'clock, p.m. The discussion of the first resolution was resumed. This question being put, it was adopted unanimously.

The 2d resolution was then taken up, and, after some discussion, was laid on the table, to make way for the reading of a Constitution for a Phalanx framed by the Cincinnati Fourier Association.

On motion, the Constitution was referred to Mr. Loofbourrow, for revision, to be reported at a future meeting of the Convention. The 2d resolution was again taken up, more fully discussed and adopted.

Friday, Feb. 23, 9 o'clock a.m. The Convention proceeded to appoint the committees provided for in the 2d and 3d Resolutions, as follows:

Committee to receive additional Subscriptions of Stock—Wade Loofbourrow, Esq., Washington, Fayette Co.; B. F. Steward, Higginsport, O.; Dr. J. Radcliffe, Dayton, O.; J. H. Hill, Cambridge City, Ia.; J. Whippo, Dublin, Wayne Co., Ia.; J. B. Rogers, Dayton, O.; J. B. Farmer, Cleves, O.; Benj. F. Williams, Edward Collins, Wm. Kirkup, H. Ferdinand, Benj. Urner, C. B. Dyer, E. Green, Cincinnati; Mason Seward, Mason, Warren Co., O.; Jos. Wheldon, Clark Co., O.; Wm.

ALBERT BRISBANE

(By permission of the Arena Publishing Company)

Price, Daniel Prescott, Chas. W. Carlton, Jon. Woodruff, Cincinnati.

Committee to examine a site for the Domain—T. Kenworthy, B. F. Steward, Wade Loofbourrow, Dr. J. Radcliffe, Benjamin F. Williams, Harvey Lull, B. G. Childs, C. D. Dana, Edward Collins.

On motion, resolved, that the letter of Messrs. Brisbane, Greeley, Macdaniel, and that of Mr. Wm. H. Channing, be read and discussed at the meeting of the Convention this evening at 7 o'clock, and, that the citizens generally be invited to attend.

Seven o'clock, p.m. A large number of ladies and gentlemen (considering the short notice that was given,) attended for the purpose of hearing discussions of the new science of Association. After reading the minutes of the Convention, the letters from our New York friends were read—when Dr. Radcliffe took the floor, and, using the letter of Mr. Channing as a text, he gave a most fervent and animated exposition as to the manner in which Associative Unity would solve the several problems laid down in that letter. He awakened the most earnest attention of the audience, by declaring that Association was not a mere scheme, like that of Owen's community or a Shaker society, but that it was a science—a stupendous science, far reaching, and ascending to the Most High unfolding the laws of Divine order which reign throughout the Universe, and, at the same time descending and embracing the most lowly, the most humble things of creation. He confessed, that he, like all his associates, was but a novitiate in this grand science; and encouraged the audience to believe, that all who were so disposed were in possession of faculties and powers to apprehend and understand its truths; that, while it is so comprehensive as to embrace

all things throughout the Universe, yet, it is so divinely simple, as to be applicable to even the social and domestic relations of man. And can this be surprising, when we reflect on the unity of Divine order? Nay, it must be, that the same laws of attraction and repulsion which hold in their respective orbits the vast number of Globes which compose the material Universe, and cause them to move in such harmony as to produce what is called "the music of the spheres"—it must be, that they make one by correspondence with those of passional attraction and repulsion, which form and preserve the harmony of angelic societies of the blessed in heaven, and which, when understood and obeyed by men on earth, will produce the harmony of heaven in human society.

There was the most profound attention of the audience during the whole of this excellent speech, and a favorable impression must have been made on the minds of many who for the first time had heard of the Social Destiny of man.

The following resolution was then read and unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, that this Convention take great pleasure in expressing their deep sense of obligation to the advocates of the new social science in the East, and especially to the editors of New York *Tribune*, the *Phalanx*, and the *Present*, for the earnest zeal and efficiency with which they devote themselves to the propagation of the truly glad tidings of great joy in relation to the Social Destiny of Man.

Mr. B. F. Williams then addressed the meeting in a short but ardent speech, which called forth the plaudits of the meeting. He was followed by some remarks from the Secretary, Mr. J. White, when,

On motion of Mr. Urner, it was

RESOLVED, that the proceedings of this Convention, together with the letters of Messrs. Brisbane and Channing, be published in all the city papers favorable to the cause of Social Reform, in which we are engaged.

The Convention then adjourned, to meet again on Thursday, the 14th of March next; which meeting, all friends from the country are especially invited to attend. WM. PRICE, President.

JOHN WHITE, WM. MCDIARMID, Secretaries.

SECOND CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF ASSOCIATION AT CINCINNATI

A second Convention was held at Cincinnati, pursuant to adjournment, on March 14th. We have space but for the following short extract, which will show the general result of the Convention, and the fine spirit that animated its members.

The consideration of the Constitution occupied nearly the whole time of the three days' sitting of the Convention. There was much discussion, with calm deliberation; and a patient and respectful hearing was given to all suggestions, embracing a variety of opinions of every shade and color. A unity of purpose pervaded the entire assembly, and was manifest throughout the whole debate; which manifestation of unity gives new strength and vigor to our hopes, and inspires us with the fullest confidence, that even though some of the manifold details of this, our fundamental law, may not be the wisest and best that could be adopted, yet, that all errors will find a sure corrective, in that spirit of union, which, we humbly hope, has descended, and is now descending to the earth, to bless, and beautify, and harmonize the immortal passions, and thence the present and eternal interests of man.

A Constitution was adopted, in the main similar to that of the North American Phalanx, Officers elected for a temporary organization, and Stock Books opened for an Association, called the Cincinnati Phalanx, to be located near the City of Cincinnati, on the Free

States side of the Ohio River; and a Committee appointed to select a suitable Domain.

Officers of the Cincinnati Phalanx: *President*–Wade Loofbourrow; *Council*–Dr. William Price, Benj. G. Childs, James H. Hill, Charles B. Dyer, William Kirkup, J. B. Rogers.

(c) ASSOCIATIONS IN WESTERN NEW YORK

(1) Meeting of the American Industrial Union.
The *Phalanx*, June 15, 1844, p. 176.

The Council of this Confederation convened pursuant to adjournment, at the Domain of the Bloomfield Union Association, on the 15th of May. There were present–Benjamin Walton, Jefferson Co. Industrial Association; E. A. Stillman, Bloomfield Union Association; Lemuel Stansbury,[26] Sodus Bay Phalanx; David M. Smith, Rush Industrial Association; Samuel W. Lyman, Ontario Union; Victor B. Mix, Western N.Y. Industrial Association; the President, A. M. Watson in the Chair.

The following communication was received from the President, showing the situation and prospects of the several parties to the Confederacy.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL: In conformity to the Constitution of this Confederacy, I herewith communicate to you the situation of the several parties to the compact.

My other engagements and the illness of my family have, up to this time, prevented me from making anything more than a running visit to the several Associations, and I shall have to refer you to the reports which the several Councillors may be prepared to make, for a particular description of the affairs of the respective institutions.

[26] In the place of Ira French, resigned.

The oldest Association in this compact, the Jefferson County Industrial, has made its first annual statement, by which it appears that Capital in that Institution will receive a fraction over six per cent interest. Owing to inattention to the principles of Association, and a defective and incomplete organization of Industry into Groups and Series, as well as to the fact that in the commencement much time is lost, Labor in this Institution fails to obtain its fair remuneration. Another circumstance which has operated to the disadvantage of Labor is, that no allowance has been made in its favor, in the annual settlement, for Working Dresses. These facts are conclusive, to my mind, that the disadvantages of improper or inadequate organization in all Institutions, will be even more injurious to Labor than to Capital.

This Institution commenced operations without the investment of much, if any, cash capital, and they now are somewhat embarrassed for want of such means. A subscription to their stock of two thousand dollars in cash, or a loan of that amount for a reasonable time, for which good security could be given, would, in my opinion, place them in a situation to carry on a very profitable business the ensuing year. If this obstacle can be surmounted, I know of no Institution of better promise than this. This would seem to be but a small matter, but when the fact is considered that they are located in the midst of a community which sympathises but little in the movement while many exert themselves to increase the embarrassment by decrying their responsibility, it will readily be seen that their situation is unenviable. Their responsibility when compared with that of most business concerns in the country, is more real than that of a majority of business men who are considered perfectly solvent. Considering the difficulties and

embarrassments through which they have already struggled, I have strong confidence in their ultimate success. The whole number of members will not vary much, at this time, from 150. They have reduced, by sale, their lands to about 800 acres, and I refer you to the annual report for further information as to their liabilities.

The next Association to commence practical operations, was the Western New York Industrial. This Institution began operations about the first of February last, on a tract of some 1460 acres of land, at the mouth of Sandy Creek, in Monroe county, three hundred acres of which was under improvement. The managers acted on the idea of securing to its stock real and personal property of almost all descriptions, and in this I think their management was judicious. In admitting resident members, they have made the mistake which all have made, or are in danger of making, viz: the collecting on their respective domains more members than can be profitably employed at first. This Institution is laboring under serious disadvantages from this fact at present. Their pecuniary affairs are in a safe and prosperous condition, if I am correctly informed. Their outstanding liabilities, not specially provided for, amount to about $16,000; and the real and personal property already secured to their stock, other than the land comprising their domain, amounts to $17,000. The whole number of members now on the domain is 350, many of whom they are at present unable to employ with advantage.

The Bloomfield Union Association commenced operations about the 15th of March last, on a domain of about 500 acres, mostly improved land, situated one mile east of Honeoye Falls, in the counties of Monroe, Livingston and Ontario. The Institution is indebted on account of the purchase, about $11,000, and of their

subscriptions there has been actually paid in about $35,000.

The whole number of resident members now on their domain is 148, and there have been admitted, subject to notice, a large additional number of members, who will add very considerably to their capital stock; but, I am informed that it is their settled determination to allow members to move on the domain only as they are enabled to find permanent employment for them. I think they may well congratulate themselves upon their future prospects.

The Sodus Bay Phalanx commenced operations about the first of April last, on a tract of 1400 acres, at Sodus Bay, formerly known as the Shaker Tract. This location is a desirable one, particularly in a commercial point of view, as is also that of the Western New-York Industrial, both being on Lake Ontario; and the harbor at Sodus Bay is at this time one of the safest and best.

Three hundred acres of the land is now under a good state of cultivation. The whole tract has cost the Association $35,000, most of which is an outstanding debt against the Institution. There has been more than sufficient stock secured to the Phalanx to cover the purchase, but they are in danger of serious embarrassments, from the fact of so great a rush of members to the domain, before branches of industry can be established, or proper accommodation for the residence of families prepared. There are now upon the domain about 260 resident members. I believe all Associations will find it for their interest to secure to their stock all the real and personal property possible; and I think this Institution will find it peculiarly so in their case. From the location, fertility of soil, the general intelligence and determination of the members, I think they may safely calculate upon success.

The Ontario Union commenced operations about two weeks since, in Hopewell, Ontario county, five miles from Canandaigua, and upon the line of the Western Railroad, on the outlet of Canandaigua Lake. They have purchased the mills and farm formerly owned by Judge Bates, consisting of 150 acres of land, a flouring mill with five run of Burr Stones and sawmill, at $16,000. They have secured, by subscription, about 138 acres of land in the immediate vicinity, which they are now working. To meet their liabilities for the original purchase, I am informed they have already a subscription which they believe can be relied on, amounting to over $40,000. They have now upon the domain about 75 members. This Institution has been able already to commence such branches of Industry as will produce an immediate return, and, as a consequence, will avoid the necessity of living upon their capital. There is danger that their enthusiasm will get the better of their judgment in admitting members too fast.

The Rush Industrial Association has not yet commenced practical operations, and I refer you to their representative for information in regard to their prospects.

For a statement of the particular branches of Industry pursued in each Society, you are referred to the reports presented by your respective members.

The subjects to which I would call the particular attention of your Board at this time are:

1st. The devising some uniform mode of keeping time accounts in Associations.

2d. The adoption of a system for the regulation of Groups and Series.

3d. To recommend some course to be pursued to prevent the several parties to this compact from accumulating too large a population on their respective domains,

before adequate branches of Industry are organized for their employment.

4th. To recommend some plan for the organization of an Educational Department.

5th. To recommend some system by which the real and personal property subscribed to the stock of Associations can be made available.

6th. To adopt an uniform system by which members shall draw supplies upon the time credited on the books of the Association.

7th. To advise what course should be pursued by the several parties to this compact, with reference to the Convention proposed to be held on the first Monday of October next.

Your particular attention is called to the communication of T. C. Leland. Of the merits of the case you are better informed than myself. I think the matter should be presented to the different Associations without delay, and I have no doubt of the disposition to do him ample justice.

It is my intention to remove my family to the city of Rochester in the course of the coming summer, and, if the Institutions composing this Confederacy shall deem it a matter of sufficient importance, devote my time exclusively to the interests of the Confederation. But if, upon consultation, the different Institutions shall be of the opinion that it will be incurring an unnecessary expense, I will, upon being so advised, resign the office I now hold, having accomplished the great object I had in view, by the establishment of an unitary movement, on the part of the Institutions in Western New-York; and I shall retire from the field of action with the satisfaction of believing that the last three months have been better employed than any other portion of my life. On this subject I desire the Associations to speak frankly,

my only object in presenting it at all being to prevent any surprise. My resolution is settled, and my future energies dedicated to the cause of Association. Yet it shall not be said of me, with truth, that my activity has resulted in the establishment of a sinecure to be enjoyed by myself. I have no feeling of a personal nature involved in this question. A. M. WATSON.

The communication, above referred to, from T. C. Leland, was received, exhibiting the pecuniary embarrassments occasioned by his public advocacy of the cause of Industrial Reform.

The several councillors reported the following branches of Industry as being already established in their respective Associations, viz:

Jefferson County Industrial – Agriculture, and the following mechanical trades, viz: boot and shoemaking, saddle and harnessmaking, carpenter and joiner work, planing machine, turning, tailoring, blacksmithing, masonry, stone cutting, coopering, stone-quarrying, brickmaking, burning lime, and sawing lumber.

Bloomfield Union Association – Agriculture, boot and shoemaking, tailoring, hatting, blacksmithing, quarrying stone, burning lime, masonry, millinery and dressmaking, woollen manufacturing, waggonmaking, sawing lumber, custom grinding, lathe sawing, merchandising, carpenter and joiner work.

Sodus Bay Phalanx – Agriculture, carpenter and joiner work, shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmithing, masonry, sawing lumber, brickmaking, coal burning, fishing.

Ontario Union – Agriculture, custom grinding, sawing lumber, blacksmithing, edge-toolmaking, iron and wood turning and finishing, carpenter and joiner work, quarrying stone, millinery and dressmaking.

Western N.Y. Industrial Association – Agriculture,

carpenter and joiner work, custom grinding, sawing lumber, turning shop, blacksmithing, shinglemaking, printing, edge-toolmaking, dairy business, coal burning, and merchandising.

On motion, Messrs. Lyman, Stillman, Smith and Mix, were appointed a committee to whom was referred the President's Communication and accompanying documents.

Thursday, May 16. The Council met pursuant to adjournment, the President in the chair. The committee reported an order of business which was approved.

The Council proceeded to a consideration of the means of giving an efficient organization to the several Associations forming the Confederacy, and the best mode to promote their mutual prosperity.

RESOLVED, that it be recommended to the several Institutions composing this Confederacy to adopt, as far as possible, the practice of mutual exchanges between each other, and that they should immediately take such measures as will enable them to become the commercial agents of the producing classes in the sections of the country where the Associations are respectively located.

CLASSIFICATION OF INDUSTRY

RESOLVED, in the opinion of the Council, one of the first steps towards Organization should be an arrangement of the different branches of Agricultural, Mechanical and Domestic work in the Classes of Necessity, Usefulness, and Attractiveness. The exact category in which an occupation shall be placed, will be influenced, more or less, by local circumstances, and is, at best, somewhat conjectural. It will be indicated, however, with certainty, by observation and experience. In the meantime, the Council take the liberty to express an opinion, that to the Class of Necessity belong, among

others, the following, viz: ditching, masonry, work in woollen and cotton factories, quarrying stone, brick-making, burning lime and coal, getting out manure, baking, washing, ironing, cooking, tanning and currier business, night sawing and other night work, black-smithing, care of children and the sick, care of dairy, flouring, hauling seine, casting, chopping wood and cutting timber.

CLASS OF USEFULNESS. All mechanical trades not mentioned in the Class of necessity, agriculture, school teaching, bookkeeping, time of directors while in session, other officers acting in an official capacity, engineering, surveying and mapping, storekeeping, gardening, rearing silk worms, care of stock, horticulture, teaching music, housekeepers (not cooks), teaming.

CLASS OF ATTRACTIVENESS. Cultivation of flowers, cultivation of fruit, portrait and landscape painting, vine dressing, poulterers, care of bees, embellishing public grounds.

GROUPS AND SERIES. The Council recommend to the different Associations the following plan for the organization of Groups and Series, viz:

1st. Ascertain, for example, the whole number of members who will attach themselves, or at any time take part in the agricultural line. From this number, organize as many groups as the business of the line will admit of.

2d. We recommend the numbers 30, 24, 18, as the maximum rank of the classes of Necessity, Usefulness and Attractiveness.

The Series should then be numbered in the order in which they are formed, and the Groups in the same manner, beginning 1, 2, 3, &c., for each Series.

Mechanical Series can be organized, embracing all the different trades employed by the Association in the

same manner, and if the Groups cannot be filled up at once with adults, we would recommend to the Institutions to fill them sufficiently for the purpose of organization with apprentices.

Each Group should have a Foreman, whose business it should be to keep correct accounts of time, superintend and direct the performance of work, and maintain an oversight of working dresses, &c.

There should be one individual elected as Superintendent of the Series, whose business it should be to confer with the Farming Committee of the Board, and inform the different Foremen of Groups of the work to be done, and inspect the same afterwards.

The Council is thoroughly satisfied that all the Labor of an Association should be performed by Groups and Series, and although the Combined Order cannot be fully established at once, the adoption of this arrangement will avoid incoherence, and be calculated to impress on each member a sense of his personal responsibility.

TIME AND RANK. The Time, Rank, and Occupation should be noted daily, and oftener, if a change of employment is made. The sum of the products of the daily time of each individual as multiplied by his daily rank, should be carried to the Time Ledger, weekly or monthly to his or her credit. Each of the several amounts, whether performed in the classes of Necessity, Usefulness, or Attractiveness, will thus be made to bear an equal proportion to the value of the services rendered.

The rank as well as the number of hours of each individual should, in our opinion, be kept daily, and the aggregate of the several products obtained by multiplying the daily time by the daily rank of each individual, should be carried to the Time Ledger as before re-

marked. The check list or roll of the Foreman, should be filed in the office of the Secretary, and the return should be conclusive and final, all mistakes or matters of difference being corrected or settled by the Group before the account is rendered.

We recommend, both as consistent with the Industrial System we adopt, as more economical to the Association, and as a matter of abstract justice, that the capital of the several Associations be at the expense of furnishing to the several Groups their working dresses, to be used only while the members are actually employed in the business of the Group to which they belong: and that the standard of furnishing supplies to individuals, in addition to working dresses, board and house rent, be at the rate of one dollar for sixty hours labor in the highest rank of the class of Necessity. Where individuals rank in either class below the maximum in the class of Necessity, the amount payable will be reduced in a similar proportion.

NUMBER OF RESIDENT MEMBERS IN THE INCIPIENT Stage. Resolved, that in view of the disadvantages which all Institutions encounter in the first attempts at organization, there is danger of admitting too great a number of individuals to resident membership before branches of Industry can be adequately organized and established, and that in our opinion great injustice will be done to the cause as well as to the Institutions themselves, by the adoption of such a course: that the true interests of the Associations, require that all persons who cannot be profitably employed, or who have not complied with the conditions on which they were admitted, should be immediately settled with and advised to withdraw.

PRIMARY EDUCATION. Resolved, that a Board of Science should be organized in each Association, com-

posed of at least three members, whose duty it shall be to organize an Educational Department, by arranging and classifying the children according to their respective ages or sex, into Groups and Series; to select proper instructors for each class; to prepare a system of exercises that shall afford the teachers and children employment in some industrial avocation during a portion of each day, the remainder to be devoted to proper and healthful recreations.

MISCELLANEOUS. Resolved, that we respectfully suggest that the Executive Committee, appointed at the late U.S. Convention, held in the city of New-York, in April last, select the City of Rochester as the place where the Convention should be held, recommended in the 7th Resolution of their proceedings; that if this suggestion should not accord with the wishes of our friends engaged in practical operations, we name the City of Boston as our second choice.

RESOLVED, that the President be requested to correspond with the Associations in the United States, on the subject of the Confederacy.

RESOLVED, that the application of T. C. Leland be laid before the several Associations composing this Union, for such immediate action as may seem to them just.

Samuel W. Lyman, of the Ontario Union, was chosen Chairman *pro tem.*, in the place of Ira French, resigned.

RESOLVED, that the proceedings of the Council be published in the *Phalanx* and in the *Social Reformer.*

The Council adjourned to meet on the first Monday of January, 1845, at the Domain of the Ontario Union, Hopewell, Ontario Co., N.Y.

A. M. WATSON, Pres. – E. A. STILLMAN, Sec.

(2) The Clarkson Association.
The *Phalanx*, July 27, 1844, p. 222.

Batavia, July 10th, 1844. I have just returned from a visit to Clarkson Association, partly made on account of my general sympathy with all Associationists, and partly to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the many rumors which have been so industriously circulated by those who are inimical or indifferent to the success of our cause. I am convinced, from all that I have seen and heard during my stay on the domain, that our friends have been grossly slandered. True they have passed through many and great trials, have been beset by enemies without and foes within; but they are now, I am happy to say, in a fair way, with proper exercise of vigilance and perseverance, to see their experiment crowned with success.

The original founders of this association, no doubt actuated by good motives, but lacking discretion, held out such a brilliant prospect of comfort and pleasure in the very infancy of the movement, that hundreds, without any correct appreciation of the difficulties to be undergone by a pioneer band, rushed upon the ground, expecting at once to realise the heaven they so ardently desired, and which the eloquent words of the lecturers had warranted them to hope for. Thus, ignorant of Association, possessed, for the most part, of little capital, without adequate shelter from the inclemency of the weather, or even a sufficient store of the most common articles of food, without plan, and I had almost said without purpose, save to fly from the ills they had already experienced in civilization, they assembled together such elements of discord, as naturally in a short time led to their dissolution. The real friends of Association, those who were determined to adhere to the cause under all circumstances, saw that it would be

useless to resist the clamors of the selfish and the disaffected, and in order to bring good out of evil, consented to the request of a number of the stockholders to dissolve the society, and wind up their affairs. It was resolved, however, in a private meeting, to form forthwith a new organization, under better auspices, inasmuch as by being relieved from the influence of the idle and the disaffected, and being freed from the responsibility of a large debt for lands which could be of no immediate profit to them, and being under the guidance of a new and efficient corps of officers, in whose judgment and practical experience they had great confidence, they still hoped by perseverance to win the reward of associative industry. They have adopted a new constitution, (a copy of which I send you) and under whose government they have labored for the last fortnight; they are settling the accounts of the disaffected and are sending them away as fast as they can find means to satisfy their demands, and they hope in a short time, to have no one upon the ground who is not of one heart and one mind with regard to the end of their labors, and who is not willing to make great sacrifices to carry out the doctrines of Jesus Christ as illustrated by Charles Fourier, in all their labors and intercourse with each other. The formation of industrial groups and series is fast being made; they ardently seek for all the information they can obtain, and rather distrust their own judgment in deference to the opinions of the great founder of the system. An application has been made to unite with the Union of Associations formed in this State, and they recognize the importance and are determined to co-operate in all the important measures which this Union contemplates.

They have now about 250 members on the premises, and do not wish at present any accession to their num-

bers. Their accommodations are only such as would content an ardent disciple of Fourier. They live simply, but seem to enjoy contentment and health. Of the landed property they only retain about 600 acres, mostly cleared land, and timber which is convenient to their sawmills, and they have lately added to the cleared lands an excellent tract of about 200 acres, for which they have made part payment. I see no reason to believe that Clarkson will not, under the auspices of their present organization, realize eventually the fondest hopes of her zealous members, and the most ardent wishes of every friend of industrial and moral reform.

Poor as must have been the enjoyment of their first hasty and inconsiderate organization, I am told that those who left the society during their troubles, now wish to come back. They find, they say, more pleasure was to be felt in the poverty and hardship of Association in its imperfect state, than in the miserable antagonism they are compelled to suffer in civilization.

The experience of the past has been highly useful. I doubt not that they will avoid hereafter with strictest care, the sources of evil from which they have so deeply suffered. I hope to be able to visit them again some time this summer, when I am confident I shall have the satisfaction of sending you good tidings of the prosperity of our friends at Clarkson. D. S. O.

P.S. The following tables exhibit the mode of keeping the account of a Group at the Clarkson Domain. The total number of Hours that each individual has been employed during the week, is multiplied by the Degree in the Scale of Rank, which gives an equation of Rank and Time of the whole group. At Clarkson, for every thousand of the quotient, each member is allowed to draw on his account for necessaries to the value of seventy-five cents:

SERIES OF TAILORESSES – GROUP NO. 1. – MAXIMUM RANK 25

1844 Rank		Mo.	Tue.	We.	Thu.	Fri.	Sat.	Total hours	Hrs. & Rank
20	M. Weed	6	10	3			5	24	480
25	J. Peabody	10	10	10	12	10	10	62	1550
20	S. Clark	10	10	10	10	8		48	960
25	E. Clark	2	10	10	Sick			22	550
18	H. Lee	6	4	10	6	4	4	34	612
15	J. Folsom	3	3	2	6	5	3	22	330
12	Eliza Mann	4	4	2	2	6	4	22	244

The above is a true account of the time and rank of the whole Group, working under my direction for the past week. JULIA PEABODY, Foreman.

Ent'd on the books of the Ass'n, by

WM. SEAVER, Clerk.

Clarkson Domain, July 6th, 1844.

SERIES OF WORKERS IN WOOD – GROUP NO. 2. MAXIMUM RANK 30

1844 Rank		Mo.	Tue.	We.	Thu.	Fri.	Sat.	Total hours	Hrs. & Rank
24	Chas. Odell	10	9	10	10	8	9	56	1344
30	John Allen	10	10	2	6	10	8	46	1380
20	James Smith	Sick					3	3	60
30	Wm. Allen	10	12	10	10	10	10	62	1860
30	Jas Griffith	10	10	10	10	10	10	60	1800

The above is a true account of the time and rank of the whole Group, working under my direction for the past week. JAMES GRIFFITH, Foreman.

Entered on the books of the Association, by

WM. SEAVER, Clerk.

Clarkson Domain, July 6th, 1844.

(d) WISCONSIN PHALANX

Spirit of the Age, Dec. 8, 1849, pp. 362-365.

At a meeting of many of the Members of the Wisconsin Phalanx, and persons holding stock in the Phalanx, assembled on the Domain, at Ceresco, Nov. 13, 1849, the following Address to the friends of Reform and Asso-

ciation, reported by a Committee appointed at a former meeting, was unanimously adopted and directed to be signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the meeting, and published in papers friendly to the cause.—ED. of *Spirit of the Age.*

ADDRESS to the Friends of Reform and Association: The Members of the Wisconsin Phalanx, who retain the hope of Associative Life, are desirous to communicate to the public, a knowledge of the present condition of the Phalanx, and of the causes which have produced it; and to invite the co-operation of friends in an attempt to reconstruct an industrial and social organization on the Domain, on principles practically better adapted to a commencement in Association.

The Wisconsin Phalanx was incorporated February, 1845. The original members were chiefly from Southport, Wisconsin; they possessed no experience in associative life, and had derived their ideas of the theory of Association, principally from the pamphlets and newspaper writings of the school of Fourier. By a clause in the charter of the Phalanx, the increase in the annual appraisal of all the property, real and personal of the Phalanx, exceeding the cost, was to be yearly divided or credited one fourth to stock, and the remaining three fourths to labor, in such manner as the by-laws should provide.

The Domain of the Phalanx contains about one thousand, eight hundred acres of prime land, prairie, oak-openings, groves and meadows, in Ceresco township and vicinity, Fond-du-lac County. This region of country, is not exceeded by any part of the whole State, for beauty of scenery, healthfulness of situation, and fertility of soil. No ague of local origin, has ever been known here, and not one adult male member of the Society, since the institution of the Phalanx, has deceased. Five

women have died on the Domain, during the entire existence of the Society; but before their coming to Ceresco, they were all afflicted with the diseases, which proved fatal to them. Several infants and small children, have died from complaints incidental to that period of life; the cause, no doubt, would be found in a want of correct knowledge and physiological treatment in regard to infants and young children; a lack of knowledge certainly not greater here than elsewhere. We are confident that no region in the whole Northwest, can be found more remarkable for continued good health, than Ceresco, and the adjacent country.

There is a good water power on the Domain, the property of the Phalanx; and we have in operation a Grist Mill and a Saw Mill, the former of which is kept constantly employed. A new and commodious building, intended for a Protective Union Store, has been erected at the private cost of some of the members, and is nearly sufficiently completed for the commencement of business. There is a good stone school house; a blacksmith shop with three fires in full employment; and buildings for the dwelling of members, one a long new frame house, conveniently and pleasantly arranged, several of the rooms of which are now completed and occupied, and all might be finished within a short time, and at no great expense. Another row of frame houses, not so convenient nor strong in construction, as that just referred to, was put up at the first founding of the Society; and in this latter range of buildings, the greater part of the members yet reside. There is also another row of frame buildings, with a cupola and a bell, a kitchen, a bakery, a large dining room and apartments serving for the accommodation of strangers and travelers. In addition, there is a substantial stone dwelling, sufficiently large for two families, living on the princi-

ples of Associative life. The most of these buildings have been constructed with a view to a unitary mode of life; they were designed for temporary use in a transitional state of society and would principally be serviceable for the accommodation of a combined or friendly company, until more suitable and comfortable dwellings were erected. They would contain altogether about thirty-five families, with the usual average number of persons to a family.

The Domain is situated ten miles from the Fox River, a stream forming a collecting link in the great proposed communication by rivers, lakes and canals from Lake Michigan to the River Mississippi. The intermediate ground is exceedingly well adapted for good roads, being a rolling prairie and oak-openings, without marsh. The whole of this part of Wisconsin is fast filling up, with a hardy, industrious and enterprising population. The constant influx of new settlers, while it enhances greatly the rise of real estate in these parts, affords a present market for all our productions. Persons occupying this Domain, can at once engage in profitable agricultural and other employments, with the full certainty also, that each year will greatly add to the value of the premises. About four hundred acres of ground are broken and under fence; and there is a nursery containing nearly one hundred thousand young apple trees, with some peach and pear trees. These trees are now private property, having been sold to some of the members on their own account; but their existence on the domain, as it affords a convenient opportunity for the supply of trees for orchards, we consider an advantage. Most excellent drinking water is had in unfailing supplies by sinking wells from ten to thirty feet; and if the attempt were made, no doubt Artesian wells could be had on the Domain. Lime

stone, a clay suitable for brick, and a gray sand-stone, of a superior quality for building, can be had in any quantity on our own premises. The summers of Wisconsin are delightful; the autumns serene and beautiful; the winters cold and healthful, and not so severe as persons who have never resided here would imagine; for although the thermometer in winter indicates a low temperature, yet the air is dry, and on this account, the cold is not so sensibly felt. The springs are generally backward; but at the beginning of summer vegetation is as forward here, as in the southern parts of New York; for vegetable growth in this soil and climate, when it commences, proceeds with great rapidity. Wisconsin is a sure and abundant grain state, and yields also, large crops of melons and summer fruits. Its favorable situation for commerce, by the Lakes and the Mississippi, its rich ores, the salubrity of its climate, its highly productive soil, its intelligent, hardy and industrious population, its wise and liberal legislation, will cause it to rank second to no State in the Northwest.

It may be asked why under all these advantages of location and healthfulness, and without the incumbrance of any debt, the Wisconsin Phalanx is about to dissolve; why this appeal for the co-operation of friends to aid the members in the reconstruction of a Society on the Domain? We will answer as briefly as possible, being desirous to make a candid statement, so however as not to swell our address beyond the limits of a newspaper publication.

Our charter contains a radical error. It is not just nor expedient to credit stock yearly with one-fourth of the net increase, in the annual appraisement of the property. The original members acted to the best of their judgment at the time, in the organization, but

sufficient knowledge, neither theoretic nor practical, was possessed by them. We do not mention this to their discredit. The subject was new, and had been untried. Even had the members been better informed than they were in regard to the theory of the Association, which they wished to adopt, it must be now evident that the social organization of any people, should be the embodiment of their inward or mental and moral preparation; and must change and advance with the mind. A correct practical social life cannot be laid down fully by a philosopher in his closet; it must grow up and be developed in actual forms, as working people combined, feel the wants of their situation, and as these wants suggest remedies. We do not mean to imply any reflection against the value of science and theory, and the aid of the researches of great and philosophic minds. Very far from it. But we mean that no theory or science can supply the want of experience; and in both theory and practical knowledge, the members of the Phalanx were deficient.

We are now firmly of opinion that no dividend whatever in the nature of interest, should be allowed to capital. Brotherhood and usury cannot co-exist. Their tendencies are opposite and hostile. One or the other must finally sink under the antagonism. Besides, families uniting in industrial co-operation, should include in their compact the principle of mutual guaranteeism, so that no deserving brother or sister may suffer from want caused by sickness or other causality. The constitution of the Wisconsin Phalanx includes no such principle of guaranteeism, but it includes an extravagant form of usury, awarding to capital yearly, the one fourth part of the increase in the annual appraisement of all property, real and personal, of the Phalanx, exceeding the cost and the last appraisement. When it is

considered that the labor of the Phalanx consisted chiefly in building, and in agricultural occupations, not requiring a great outlay of capital in machinery, it is manifest that this feature of injustice in the charter, would eventually, if not corrected, prove fatal, by running the property into the hands of a few, and those not always the most industrious and deserving.

At the end of the first year of the Phalanx, a re-appraisement was made of the real estate of the Phalanx; and the lands obtained from government, at the usual cost of one dollar and twenty five cents an acre, were then valued at three dollars. It is needless to remark that this appraisal operated for the advantage of the large stockholders, in the ratio of their stock; but we have no thought that any person was actuated by an unworthy motive in causing it to be done. The act was generally considered to be in strict justice, in conformity with the charter, and to be promotive, also, of the best interests of the society, in order that the public might perceive the rapidly increasing value of the domain, and that persons, with sufficient pecuniary means to aid in improvements and extended industrial operations, might be encouraged to apply for membership. At the same time, as the Phalanx was not in possession of capital to construct buildings for new-comers, it was deemed necessary to inform the public, that applicants for membership would be expected to subscribe to the stock of the institution. This announcement, whether justly or not, created an impression abroad that the Phalanx was averse to the admission of new members, however worthy in moral character and industry, unless they were possessed also of money; and a prejudice arising from this cause, together with the advantages already enumerated as enjoyed by capital, promoted an injurious jealousy between labor and capital. Besides

this, there was a real difficulty, in the imperfect organization of the Society, in adjusting the rates of dividend or compensation between the agricultural and the mechanical groups. The Mechanics, who were in the minority, were not satisfied with the rates of dividend awarded to them. Most of them ceased to work for the Phalanx, and hired themselves out in the neighborhood, or at distant places, where they obtained, as they supposed, much better terms. Members became disheartened, and several withdrew; persons with capital perceiving the want of harmonious action in the Society, did not apply for membership; and without capital applicants were not admitted. Some of the members who remained on the domain, and who were influential from their business talents or the stock which they held, either because they lost confidence in the stability of the Phalanx, or because they wished to make money more largely and rapidly than they could in association engaged in enterprises on their own account, in land speculations and in merchandizing; and even the products of the Phalanx, by a mistaken policy in the councils of the Society, were sold to members at prices influenced by the Mexican war and the European famine, thus throwing a burden very difficult to be borne, upon the shoulders of the members with large families and small stock, to whom the dividends were low, but the charges against them, for the support of their families, high.

While jealousies and discontents were thus increasing, from causes connected with the wrong organization of the Phalanx, (and we must add also from the want of sufficient moral training and experience in all the members) a new source of dismemberment arose from circumstances, which, had the Society been rightfully constructed at the outset, and had the members possess-

ed a spirit of brotherhood, would have served to draw still more closely the bands of fraternal union. When the Wisconsin Phalanx settled at Ceresco, the whole of this region of country was unpeopled. Now, thriving farms are located all around us, and flourishing towns are built up in our vicinity. Our own location, with its water powers, its quarries, excellent drinking water, its known health, and its situation in regard to a vast extent of most fertile country, is unquestionably, a very eligible place for the construction of a town; and the lands of the Phalanx, before valued at three dollars an acre, would now be appraised at not less than twelve; and if a town were actually located here, the valuation of the premises, for building lots, and out lots, would be immensely greater. Those members, in whom the spirit of speculation exists, might now be glad to have a division of the domain, in the hope to advance their fortunes by individual enterprises in land transactions.

We have briefly stated the principal causes which have led to our present unfavorable condition. We have no hope to succeed, as an Association, without a re-construction of the Society on a basis more favorable to brotherhood and equality, and better suited to the merely transitional preparation of all men in respect to social life. Brought up under the sinister antagonisms of civilization, no man, or at most, not many persons are yet fitted for the higher conditions of Association. We must reach those higher forms of social life gradually. The Wisconsin Phalanx, owing to the disagreements which we have mentioned, has already individualized personal property, and the fruit trees in the nursery of the Phalanx. No part of the domain can be sold, without an Act of the Legislature of the State. An application, it is presumed, will be made for the passage of such an Act, some time the ensuing winter.

But many of us still cling to the desire for, and the hope of an Associative life; and under a just organization of a Society, several of the members, who have already withdrawn, would return. We propose that a village shall be laid out on the domain; that members of the Association shall have their own separate building lots, combining, however, according to their own pleasure, with others, in dwellings, or living apart as they choose, and uniting in industrial operations; that the Protective Union store shall be opened and conducted in connection with the Grist Mill, which should be held jointly by the Association, thus affording a cement for a more closer co-operation between the residents of the place, as their minds may be matured for a higher social life; that mutual guarantees shall exist against casualties, to be adjusted in conformity with the principles of humanity and brotherhood; that the children of all shall be educated, and that capital advanced, shall be replaced, but without usury; and with an initial organization of this kind, adapted to the present imperfect state of the public mind in social science, we hope to grow up to a more true form of Association, as experience and increasing knowledge and moral training shall lead the way. We are happy to state that Ceresco notwithstanding the impediments to our success as a Phalanx, enjoys an entire freedom from litigation and from intemperance; neither has the peace of the place ever been disturbed by unruly or violent behavior. Persons who have resided here, become much attached to the spot.

The total stock of the Phalanx may be estimated at about twenty-five thousand dollars; nearly twenty thousand dollars of this sum might be required to pay off non-resident stockholders, and others who would not be willing to unite in an arrangement on the plan we

have mentioned. Not more however than about ten thousand dollars would be needed by the first of February next, to buy out the shares of members making their preparations to withdraw; and the extinguishment of their rights would supersede the necessity of an application to the Legislature for an Act repealing the Charter, until affairs could be placed on a better footing for a settlement. As there is now a general incorporation law in Wisconsin, the continuance of the present, or the grant of a new Charter by the State is not desirable, except that by the premature repeal of the Act of incorporation, the domain might pass into the hands of individuals, by purchase, who would hold it for speculation as a Town site. The domain is worth far more than the largest sum which we have named; and there can be no hazard in the purchase of the stock at par. Are there not friends of the cause, sufficient in numbers and in pecuniary ability to buy the stock of the non-resident and going members, that by an arrangement on the principles above suggested, this location so highly favorable for the purpose, may be preserved for, and consecrated to Humanity and brotherhood. If not, it must and will pass into the hands of speculators and monopolists; and several fortunes will be realized by it.

Those friendly to our design, will perceive the necessity of making a prompt reply. Letters addressed postpaid to Stephen Bates, Ceresco, P.O., Wisconsin, will be attended to, and early information given upon such points as friends may desire to have more fully set forth.

W. CHASE, Chairman.
STEPHEN BATES, Sect'y.

Ceresco, Wis., Nov. 13, 1849.

(e) TRUMBULL PHALANX

The *Harbinger*, Feb. 20, 1847, pp. 175, 176.

We are happy to present the following "Report of the Productions and Improvements of the Trumbull Phalanx for 1846," which we have received from the Secretary of that Association. It will be perceived that our friends bear their testimony to the pleasure and advantage of the Associative life, even in the rude and imperfect forms which are all that at present can be realized. We have never pretended that the little attempts at Association, now in progress, are able to illustrate the character and effects of the Combined Order: they are little more than spontaneous gatherings of friends, inspired with a sincere zeal for an improved order of society, full of faith in God, in Humanity, and in the Future, but generally without adequate science, without capital, without the material facilities, which are essential to a complete realization of a true Social Order. But in the humblest degree of Associated life of which we have had any experience, there is an interest, a charm, a consciousness of approaching at least, the true way, which cannot be felt in the proudest abodes of Civilization. The moral tone, the sincere, elevated affections, the freedom from the clutch-all system, which prevails in common society, bind the heart to life in Association; and hence we rejoice in all the evidence of prosperity which we receive from time to time, in the infant Associations that are now struggling for existence, while we wait in hope for the day when a Model Phalanx shall combine the strength of friends that is now scattered, and exhibit to the world a splendid demonstration of the truth of our principles.

REPORT OF THE PRODUCTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS OF THE TRUMBULL PHALANX, FOR 1846

Power Looms		$ 75.00
Repairs on Factory and Upper Works		132.00
Production of Upper Saw Mill		360.00
do. Lower " "		627.00
do. Grist Mill		441.86
do. Tannery and Shoe Shop		1,236.08
do. Clothing Works		150.00
do. Carding "		360.00
do. Blacksmith Shop		49.00
do. Hat Shop		112.00
do. Wagon Shop		116.00
do. Bowl Machine		33.00
Money received for school teaching of Members		63.00
90 tons of Hay		360.00
20 do. Corn Fodder		80.00
400 bushels of Wheat		250.00
300 do. Oats		54.00
100 do. Rye		37.00
100 do. Buckwheat		33.33
2800 do. Corn		933.00
200 do. Potatoes		50.00
200 do. English Turnips		25.00
625 do. Ruta Baga		78.13
250 do. Beans		187.00
137 do. Onions		85.63
50 cords of Tan Bark		100.00
2 acres of Broom Corn		25.00
6 barrels of Vinegar		18.00
54 do. Cider		54.00
300 grafted Apple Trees		75.00
250 Peach Trees		87.50
Erecting buildings, putting up fences, cutting cord-wood, putting in crops, gain on cattle, hogs, &c., and general improvement of the Domain		2,240.00
		$9,119.63*

*$8,547.53. – Ed

CONTRA

Loss by use of Wagons and Harnesses . .	$ 48.00
do. do. Farming Tools . . .	12.00
do. do. Saw Mills	25.00
do. do. in going to law and hunting thieves .	45.00
Interest on Stock at six per cent . . .	1,192.49
do. Debt	515.09
Taxes	82.05
Incidental Expenses	601.14
	$2,520.77

Leaving $6,698.86 [$6,026.76] to be divided among those who have produced this amount. The time wrought by each having been kept, a dividend of seventy-seven cents is declared for ten hours' labor.

B. ROBBINS, Pres't.

The Election having been held agreeably to the requirements of the act of Incorporation, on the last Monday in December, the following Officers were chosen: Moses Sackett, *President*; Benj. Robbins, *Vice Pres't and Treas'r*; P. Boynton, *Auditor*; Wm. F. Madden, *Secretary*; N. C. Meeker, *Cor. Sec'y*; William M. Cox, E. M. Eggleston, John Madden, William Weaky, P. Boynton, A. Church, B. Robbins, *Industrial Council.*

It is proper to state that having tried the combined Household system, or General Boarding House, we have abandoned it entirely, and retreated to the separate Household. This we are forced to do for want of sufficient means to give variety and attraction to the common table, and there is now universal satisfaction with the present arrangement. Without doubt the time will come when the Combined system will be found preferable in economy, ease and attraction; but we have been taught by dear experience, that without sufficient wealth, edifices, machinery and knowledge of such establishments, it were far, far better not to attempt any-

thing of the kind, but to take every thing in its own order, the simple and easy first, and not endeavor to secure what can only be the result of years. A Boarding House, however, is continued by a suitable family for the accommodation of the young men. It was found, last year, to have cost forty-seven cents per week, for men, for women and children less.

The above report for the year gives an idea of what we have been doing, and what materials we are accumulating for our future operations, and we can but say in addition that we are harmoniously united, living plain, common-sense lives, and are persuaded that our continued prosperity, that is, on the whole, is a cheering indication that we have nothing to fear in the future but our own unfaithfulness. N. C. MEEKER, Cor. Sec'y. Trumbull Phalanx, Braceville, Ohio, Dec. 26, 1846.

(f) COLUMBIAN PHALANX

New York *Weekly Herald*, March 15, 1845, p. 86.

Dear John Allen: Again I will try to give you some idea of my whereabouts, and what I have seen. . . I have visited the Columbian Association, seven miles above Zanesville, on the Muskingum. The site of the Ohio Phalanx was beautiful, but it cannot be compared with the Columbian. Though it is winter, and the trees bare, and a slight covering of snow on the ground, yet it is the fairest spot I ever looked upon or dreamed of. There are 2700 acres, including a beautiful island formed by the branching of the Muskingum. The timber, of which there is a large quantity, is very much finer than is usual in this region. They say they could pay for the place by carrying on coopering for a few years. They have suitable timber also for boat building. There are large quantities of bituminous coal, limestone, and iron ore on the domain. They have also

a beautiful stone that will polish like dark colored marble. They have a quarry of grindstones too – indeed it is very difficult for Northern persons to imagine the riches of this region. They have steam-boat navigation from the Ohio to the Erie Canal at Dresden. They have paid about $10,000 on the land, the cost of which was $55,000. The natural riches of the place, coal, timber, lime, iron, &c., with the crops, would enable them to pay for their place, with the greatest ease, if they had a united band upon the ground. They have one field of wheat now, containing 137 acres. They have about 150 members, though they are not all on the ground, on account of accommodations. They have thirty log buildings about twenty feet square. They have the frame of a building erected one hundred feet in length and forty in breadth – two stories high. Their land lies both sides of the Muskingum. They are, as a whole, hardly in the alphabet of social science. A few of them look to a unitary edifice – I think about fifteen of them have some idea of Fourierism. Some friends of Association went with me from Zanesville, and gave me a favorable introduction. I walked over a large part of the Domain. One good man said to me, "I wish you would tell the New England people to come out here and join us – we should certainly succeed if they would." . . The people gradually gathered together, and I preached Association and Grahamism to them in earnest. I believe I saw only one man who did not consume quantities of tobacco, and just now enormous quantities on account of a quarrel they were engaged in, which made them "very nervous." This quarrel involves the very foundations of Association, and so I shall give you a little history of it as I understood it. The founder of this Phalanx, Mr. A. B. Campbell, had become obnoxious to those members who were

not imbued with any principle of association on account of his heretical notions. I can give you but little account of him, from personal observation, as I only saw him about two hours. I however laid my hand upon his head, asked him a good many questions, and heard the statements of both sides respecting him. He seems to have great intellectual power, with limited education. He was formerly a Methodist minister. He has studied what writings he could come at on Association in English, evidently with great attention. He first lectured through this region, and gathered some friends and contracted for this place. Pious people who had an idea that they could make money by uniting, advanced what of the purchasing money has been paid. Other people of similar character wished to join, but Mr. Campbell had made himself very obnoxious by his lectures, in which he had criticized the religion of the day in rather the style of come-outism. He had also spoken of civilized marriages very disrespectfully, and moreover he worked on Sunday. One of the principal members of the side opposed to him said to me, "Campbell is the wickedest man in the world – he has spoken against the Bible, he has spoken against marriage, he has worked on Sunday, he has taken in members without property, he has said he would as lief have a black man join as a white man." In view of all these offences, (or rather in view of their consequence, which was that several persons who wished to join and put in money, would not do it whilst the head of the Association spoke against marriage, and worked on Sunday,) the majority of the members of the Columbian Phalanx voted to expel Mr. Campbell. The day of my arrival on the Domain, he had left. They had no rule in their Constitution by which they could expel him, and no definite charge against him, except that he had attended a dance

in the village, in a house which some persons thought was not respectable. He was expelled – driven away in mid-winter without a penny, or a peck of corn, with a wife and five children. I think he had been working for them with head or hand, about two years. About dozen or fifteen, who have some idea of the principles of Association, adhered to Mr. Campbell, or as they said, to the right. The present leader who takes Mr. Campbell's place, is a sceptic, but quite an energetic man. His impiety has not yet been objected to by the members – probably will not be till it is found unprofitable. Day before I left, the Fourier portion of the phalanx came to Zanesville, and held a conversation with me respecting their difficulties and the hopes of Association generally. There were a dozen earnest young men who came, and Mr. Campbell was with them. I asked Mr. C. many questions. He is a Fourierist as far as he has gone, though his feelings are negative with regard to the sacred scriptures, I think, owing entirely to his present excoriation by the professed believers in the Bible. His friends, by his advice, will do all in their power to save their place. If they cannot, they will be valuable help to some association farther removed from chaos than this. I found that his ideas with regard to marriage had been entirely misunderstood by those, to whom all things are right that are according to law. The question of the relation of the sexes in Association is a momentous one; and though our friends may wish to evade or avoid it, fearing they shall be misunderstood, or that odium will attach to them if they speak out their thoughts – it must be met. . . Truly yours, MARY S. GOVE.

(g) INTEGRAL PHALANX

New York *Weekly Tribune*, July 4, 1846, p. 6.

From a private letter just received, we glean the following account of the first attempt to realize Industrial Association in the Prairie State:

Home of the Integral Phalanx, Lick Creek, Sangamon Co., Ill., June 11th, 1846.

. . . I will now give a short sketch of ourselves: Since the first effort here, under the name of the Sangamon Association, we have aimed to make no "blow," but to preserve the even tenor of our way, with one eye fixed upon a scientific development of Association as the great ultimatum of our desires. In pecuniary affairs we have pursued a safe plan. Our members are honest, industrious and moral; 23 of them being members of the Campbellite Baptists, 7 of the Methodist, and 9 of the Swedenborgian or New Church, 51 (including children) are not members of any church. Our members are from every State in the Union.

We have now 555 acres of land—412 in cultivation—250 in Corn, 30 in Wheat, 25 in Oats, 15 in Garden and vegetables, the balance in Meadow and for Fall Wheat—our crops all look well—our corn crop is 75 per cent better than that of the farmers around us. We have 80 feet of frame building up and occupied by 5 families, some dozen isolated frames and cabins scattered about the Domain occupied by families. The lumber for a frame two story building is sawed. We will have fruit this season to make us comfortable; milk between 30 and 40 cows, have 18 work horses, besides young horses, cattle, sheep and hogs. But with all these advantages, added to as rich a soil and healthy a climate as is to be found in the States, yet we do not say our ultimate success is sure. Success has thus far

crowned our efforts, and we can now see no reason why we may not succeed to the extent of our desires, but at the same time shall not blaze forth to the world that "our permanency as an Association is no longer a matter of doubt" and tomorrow publish our downfall. Success with us is sure so long as we perform our duty to God and man. Yours, A. W. S.

(h) CAUSES OF FAILURE

Spirit of the Age, Oct. 27, 1849, pp. 260, 261. Letter of W. Chase.*

. . . Recent correspondence from here [Wisconsin Phalanx] to different newspapers has shown our convulsions and warned our friends of our approaching change, and to some extent raised a shout of joy in those who hate and despise every effort for social reform, but it is of no importance; ours is not a failure but a triumph of principles, and may if you choose be made a practical realization of the true life. But you must not expect too much in too short a time, which is the greatest of our failings.

My object in this article is not to theorize but to give you our latitude and longitude bearings, &c.

The property of the Phalanx consists in about 1800 acres of land, a small grist mill, a saw mill, several blocks of buildings, shops, &c., all of which is valued and held in joint stock at about $25,000 without the personal property. This stock is at present held under a charter or act of incorporation, which will be repealed that the property may be individualized for the following reasons, mainly: 1st, because more than half of the stock is in the hands of non-residents, much of which has been bought and sold in various bartering and speculative operations and is in the hands of those who

* Chase was the leading spirit in the Wisconsin Phalanx, and was with it from the beginning to the end. He served it as president, as secretary, and in other official positions. – Ed.

buy and sell to get gain and have no sympathy with reforms. 2nd, because the stockholders know the property is actually worth and will fetch more in small parcels and for speculative purposes than the amount of stock. 3d, because some of those who are still here as well as many who are not here, seek individual wealth as a primary object, are anxious to get their share of the property out of the stock that they may use it in various ways to secure the rise of real estate which is very rapid in this section of the country, or in realizing twenty-five or fifty per cent interest, which is not uncommon here in land trades, especially where the settlers are very anxious to secure homes for their families on new land which must be bought by the occupants or lost. 4th, because some of the most talented members and those who have been the most ardent in the advocacy of social reform, have kept their property out of the joint stock and constantly used it for speculating in lands, merchandise, and various ways, often taking advantage of the necessities of their brethren who had all their means in the common fund, and not at all times available, thereby destroying confidence in one another and fostering a spirit of speculation which is totally opposed to human brotherhood. 5th, because the government has recently purchased a large tract of land of the Indians on the north side of Fox River, ten miles from us, and thereby opened a fine opportunity for the hardy pioneer to seek out a fine location and secure it at some remote period for government price. This threw considerable of our stock into the market and carried off several of our families, and will several more who have been in the habit of changing their homes every few years for life, and cannot cease for the sake of living in associative co-operation. 6th, because our system and charter contains a fundamental error in securing one fourth of

the products of labor to capital or stock as usury, thereby bringing the souls and bodies of men and women in competition with dollars and cents, and establishing and fostering a spirit of speculation very detrimental to true progress in social reform, and because this cannot be changed except by individualizing and re-uniting on a new basis, which if done here will be without any dividend to capital; for this is the unanimous sentiment here of all except the speculating reformers. 7th, because we are now under a special law which is not as well adapted to our use as the present general law of the State which is now amply sufficient for co-operative societies. . .

The society is free from debt, its property unencumbered, with no pecuniary difficulties nor many others except those above referred to.

There is and ever has been too much apathy on the subject of moral, social and intellectual education and development among the members, and rather a predominance of the physical and external over the mental character, and yet no place in the State or perhaps in the whole west can equal this for morality – not a drunkard in the town – no ardent spirits sold – never a lawsuit, never a quarrel – but men strive to get rich even by speculating out of the necessities of one another, this they do every where, but here some call it a heinous sin to do it among those brethren who profess to be governed by the doctrines of Christ in the every day life. . .

III

LAND REFORM

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1. THEORY AND PROPAGANDA

(a) GEORGE HENRY EVANS

(1) By an Associationist.
The *Harbinger*, Dec. 9, 1848, p. 46.

We doubt whether one half of our readers have ever heard of the name of George Evans, or if they have, whether they have bestowed more than a passing notice upon it, as they would upon other names which we meet with in the newspapers. Yet George is a person who deserves more than a transient glance, because he is one of the most modest, untirable and sincere friends of Humanity that we know. For many years now he has devoted himself, body and soul, to the cause of the workingmen, and in good report as well as ill report, has been faithful to his convictions of right. He is the editor of the paper called *Young America*, and not only its editor, but its proprietor, and almost its sole printer. His whole life has been given up to the vindication of the principles of the National Reformers, which he has sustained with the same determined and good-natured zeal, under all circumstances, adverse or propitious. With some of his opinions, it is true, we do not agree; we think that he now and then, estimates his own special reforms far above their relative importance; but at the same time we know his patience, his perseverance, his honesty, and his general ability. There are men certainly of more splendid powers, men of larger and more varied acquirements, men of a more striking and magnetic energy, but we know of few who have carried out a great thought with so much firmness of will, joined to so much kindness and liberality of sentiment. George

is not a great man, as this world goes; he is not by any means a good man, as the church would have it; yet in our own simple and eccentric way of estimating man, we'll be bound that he is quite as respectable as he would be, were he both great and good. He seems to be true, to be well-disposed, and to be uncompromising, which is enough.

(2) By a Disciple.
From Lewis Masquerier's *Sociology; or the Reconstruction of Society, Government, and Property* (New York, 1877).

[Pp. 94-102] . . . His mode of agitation was to pledge the support of the anti-monopolists to such candidates as would advocate their measures, and if they declined, a land reform ticket was nominated and voted for by his friends, with the view of holding the balance of power. After pursuing this policy for five years, the principles of the reform party began to be adopted into political platforms, and at last resulted in the present homestead law, granting the quarters in the alternate sections of the public lands to actual settlers after an occupancy of five years. . .

He was a brother to Elder Frederick W. Evans, a prominent leader in the Shaker Society at Mount Lebanon, and upon the subject of inspiration, revelation, heavenly guidance, and the necessity of opposing Nature's laws he differed widely from his brother in the view the latter adopted. Frederick looks to heaven and the spirits of departed friends for guidance and instruction, while George Henry Evans looked to Nature and Reason only and to their recognized laws. . .

The writer of this sketch, when enlisting under Evans' banner, entertained the communistic views of Owen, and it was not until this paper was in circulation before I perceived the concentration and originality of his ideas. I had joined through the feeling of helping

any cause that promised to relieve the burdens of mankind. . .

Evans perceived clearly that the land reform principle required an organization into townships throughout a nation. He proposed to have them laid off in six miles squares, as the United States government now surveys its land into townships of that dimension. He also proposed central villages in each township. I furnished him with a plan wherein I laid off his mile square in the centre into lots, varying in size from a park in the centre, and fronting upon streets running with the cardinal points. . .

And it is Evans who has shown that the same right and title to the ownership of a home for every human being, would also preserve all from want, crime, and misery. But to apply the true principles of rights in practice, he proposed township democracies, where all could meet in proper person and vote directly for law and judicature, without the intervention of officers, as well as to have the power of self-employment upon their own homesteads without that of landlords. To reach this regeneration of the right to soil, government and of all society, he agitated with the aid of a few others, with the press and public speaking, three preparatory sliding measures, the freedom of the public lands to actual settlers only, homestead exemption, and the limitation of the quantity owned of all other lands. These were urged until the big parties adopted them in their platforms, when the present homestead law was enacted by the withdrawing of the delegation of the slave-holding power. . .

It is inscribed on his tomb that he was born in Bromyard, Herefordshire, England, March 25, 1805, and died in Granville, N.J., February 2, 1856, in his fifty-first year. The great object of his life was to secure

homes for all by abolishing the monopoly of them. As editor of the *Man*, the *Radical*, the *Working Man's Advocate*, the *People's Rights*, and *Young America*, he triumphantly vindicated the right of every human being to a share of the soil, as essential to the welfare and permanence of a landed democracy. . .

EQUAL HOMESTEAD. [Pp. 56-61] . . . As each person's natural wants and producing powers are so nearly equal, they entitle all to an equal share of the soil, appurtenant elements, and the whole product of their labor. The equivalent qualities in which the elements of matter combine, are still employed by Nature in combining and proportioning rights to wants. Without this principle of equivalence or equality in quantity, Nature would not have been able to have kept her individuals from an indistinguishable chaos. She employs it in precise ratios, not only in combining substances, but in the proportions of the regular bodies, in architecture, colors, musical sounds, etc. The equalness, then, of each one's natural wants for light, warmth, air, water, food, clothing, and shelter, is the true foundation and necessity for an equal share of homestead. . . The true measure for the size of an equal homestead must be determined by what the natural wants require for a family support, and as much as each can cultivate with proper recreation. Where population is sparse, each family might be allotted one hundred and sixty acres, then be quartered into forty acres, and again quartered down to the minimum of ten acre homesteads, as an increase of heirs, etc., demands. And when the earth can feed no more, the laws of physiology will have to keep the race at a stand. . .

INALIENABLE HOMESTEAD. But as natural wants are not only equal, but are also continued through life, they become the true foundation, also, of inalienable home-

stead. As the principle, too, of time or duration is very different from that of magnitude or quantity, it becomes a distinct constituent of a thorough right and is equally essential to its existence. The limitation or equalness then, of each one's natural right to a share of the soil, will become alienated or destroyed without the application of the guaranteeing principle of inalienation, perpetuity or imprescription, that attaches it to the person throughout life. The principle of equal homesteads alone would run into the abuse of allowing a man to alienate his homestead to a landless man, and thereby make himself landless. But it must be made a felony to withhold a home from any person, or for any to part with it, except in exchange for another. The homestead, then must not be exchanged for money or other moveables, which will waste or evaporate through improvidence. Land must be exchanged only for land, and products for products. The homestead, then, which embraces the improvements as well as the soil, must never be subject to any liability to alienate for any consideration whatever, such as that of sale, debt, tax, mortgage, primogeniture, etc. The exchange of homesteads is only proper for the necessary freedom of emigration. No one, then, must ever be found without a homestead. . . While the great body of the people have been holding their small possessions by the alienating laws of monopoly, or of their transitory ownership, the glaring fact and precedent has been blazing in their faces, that the royalty and nobility of the world have preserved their families and titles, their thrones and estates, from alienation, by exempting them from sale, debt, tax, mortgage, etc. . . This homestead exemption applied by the aristocracy of the Old World to their homesteads and sovereignty, must also be applied to those of the whole people. . .

INDIVIDUAL HOMESTEAD. Though homesteads may be equalized by the principle of equality or limitation, though they may be guaranteed by the principle of inalienation from debt, sale, or any other mode of alienation, yet if they are not still further fortified by the coöperation of the principle of individuality or separateness, they will still be liable to alienation by the opposite evil principle of commixture or communism.

The fact that society is not a concreted, but a discreted mass of beings – separated into individuals – is enough upon the face of it to make it self-evident that property must be owned separately by individuals, and not in communized bodies, as the true principle. Nature throughout all her domain seems to keep all her bodies separate and distinct from each other, while preserving resembling kinships and intimate connections with the surrounding world. Without this the world would only be a chaos of confused and indistinguishable mass of objects, and this would be the case with wants and rights in communism.

(b) "TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES"

Working Man's Advocate, July 6, 1844.

The National Reform Union of the City of New York, although in existence only a few weeks, has attained a perfect Organization. They have held upwards of twenty public meetings – established a newspaper for the purpose of expounding their principles and recording their proceedings – and have fixed a Head Quarters at the corner of Chatham and Mulberry streets – where they meet every Thursday Evening.

This has been done by a limited number of working men. They do not comprise among them a single name of high note in public affairs. They do not enroll in their ranks a single man of wealth. Their expenses,

though considerable, have been all paid by themselves – and they now print Twenty Thousand copies of the following document, for the purpose of effectually placing before their fellow citizens the great, and truly National object for which they contend.

On the 13th of March last, at a public meeting of workingmen, a committee was appointed to inquire into the causes which produce in this Republic a depression of labor, and a social degradation of the laborer, very similar to that which prevails under the detestable governments of Europe.

At the next public meeting of the workingmen that Committee submitted the following Report, which was adopted unanimously nearly in its present form. Read it working men, you that would escape the fate that overwhelms your brother men in Europe. If your wives, your children, your hearthstones are dear to you – if your own independence, and the liberty of the Republic are of any value in your eyes – give this document an attentive perusal. Even if you feel no spark of patriotism within you – if your daily toil, and your hopeless condition, have sunk your mind from its human dignity – have broken your spirit, as they have bent your frame – still read. Read, even, for curiosity. Read to learn what men think who will not bow to the insolence of wealth – who will not give up the country to a counterfeit aristocracy – a wretched imitation of the vile "Nobility" of Europe. – ED. of the *Working Man's Advocate.*

REPORT. Having made due inquiry into the facts, the Committee are satisfied that there is a much larger number of laboring people congregated in the seaboard towns, than can find constant and profitable employment. Your committee do not think it necessary to enter into statistical details in order to prove a fact that

is not disputed by anybody. The result of this over-supply of labor is a competition among the laborers, tending to reduce wages, even where employment is obtained, to a scale greatly below what is necessary for the comfortable subsistence of the working man, and the education of his family. It appears to your Committee, that as long as the supply of labor exceeds the demand, the natural laws which regulate prices, will render it very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to permanently improve the condition of the working people.

Our inquiries, therefore, were naturally directed to ascertain how far existing causes are likely to affect the supply and demand, of labor—whether those causes tend to lessen, or to increase the evil under which the working classes are now suffering.

As tending to lessen the evil, we find an increasing home consumption of articles produced by mechanical skill—we also anticipate an increase, to some extent at least, of our export market. But we believe that this additional demand is by no means likely to keep pace with our accumulating powers of production. First we find in our cities, and Factory Stations, an increasing population, the great majority of whom depend for a subsistence on Mechanical labor; and secondly we find the new born power of machinery throwing itself into the labor-market, with the most astounding effects—withering up all human competition with a sudden decisiveness that leaves no hope for the future. Indeed, if we judge of the next half century by the half century just past, there will be, by the end of that time, little mechanical labor performed by human hands.

We find, on consulting authentic data, that machinery has taken almost entire possession of the manufacture of cloth. That it is making steady—we might say

rapid–advance upon all branches of iron manufacture. That the newly invented machine saws, working in curves as well as straight lines–the planing and grooving machine, and the tenon and mortice machine, clearly admonish us that its empire is destined to extend itself over all our manufactures of wood. That while some of our handicrafts are already extinct, there is not one of them but has foretasted the overwhelming competition of this occult power. We can clearly perceive that while the laws of population tend to steadily increase the supply of mechanical labor–so does the improvement of machinery tend to, not merely lessen, but almost annihilate the demand.

This result–this triumph of machine labor, and ultimate prostration of human labor, cannot in the opinion of your committee, be averted. We may wrestle with the monster, as the toilers of England wrestle, till myriads of us perish in the unequal strife. But your Committee are of the opinion that all this will be only so much strife, and so much suffering, wasted in vain. As well might we interfere with the career of the heavenly bodies, or attempt to alter any of Nature's fixed laws, as hope to arrest the onward march of science and machinery.

The question then recurs–the momentous question: "Where lies our remedy? How shall we escape from an evil which it is impossible to avert?"

This question admits of an answer at once simple, satisfactory, and conclusive. Nature is not unjust. The Power who called forth those mechanical forces did not call them forth for our destruction. Our refuge is upon the soil, in all its freshness and fertility–our heritage is on the Public Domain, in all its boundless wealth and infinite variety. This heritage once secured to us, the evil we complain of will become our greatest

good. Machinery, from the formidable rival, will sink into the obedient instrument of our will – the master shall become our servant – the tyrant shall become our slave.

If we were circumstanced like the inhabitants of Europe, there would seem to be little hope of getting the laboring population out of the difficulties, and distress, in which they are at present involved. There, every field, of God's inheritance to man, is fenced in, and appropriated by the Aristocracy. There, the working man has nothing to fall back upon. There, in the beautiful language of the Poet –

> If to the Common's fenceless limits strayed,
> He drives his flock to pick the scanty blade,
> Those fenceless fields the sons of wealth divide,
> And even the bare worn Common is denied.

There, the laboring classes have no resource, except to sell the labor of their bodies for whatever price it will bring – live upon that pittance as long as it will sustain them alive: and when it fails sink into their last earthly refuge – the grave.

But in this Republic, all that the Creator designed for man's use, is ours – belongs, not to the Aristocracy, but to the People. The deep and interminable forest; the fertile and boundless prairie; the rich and inexhaustible mine – all – all belong to the People, or are held by the Government in trust for them. Here, indeed, is the natural and healthful field for man's labor. Let him apply to his Mother Earth, and she will not refuse to give him employment – neither will she withhold from him in due season the fulness of his reward. We are the inhabitants of a country which for boundless extent of territory, fertility of soil, and exhaustless resources of mineral wealth, stands unequalled by any nation, either of ancient or modern times. We live un-

der a Constitution, so just and so equal, that it may well lay claim to a divine origin. As a People we are second to none, in enterprize, industry, and skill. Thus it is clear, that we are in possession of all the elements of individual and national prosperity. And, yet, we allow those elements to lie dormant, that labor which ought to be employed in calling forth the fruitfulness of Nature, is to be found seeking employment in the barren lanes of a city, of course, seeking it in vain.

Have we not boundless territories of unsettled, almost unexplored, lands?[27] Were not those lands created for the express purpose of furnishing us with food, and clothing, and happy homesteads? Have not those lands been redeemed from the British Crown by the priceless blood that flowed in our Revolution? Have they not been redeemed from the aboriginal tribes by monies paid into the Treasury by the productive classes of the whole United States? Are they not ours, therefore, by every just right, natural and acquired? And if so, on what principle should they be withheld from us, their rightful owners? Already have we paid for them twice over; wherefore should we be required to pay for them again? In taking this position we do not stand quite alone. President Jackson, in his message of 1832, holds out the following advice to the American people. It is worthy of serious attention:

> It seems to me to be our true policy that the public lands shall cease, as soon as practicable, to be a source of revenue, and that they be sold to settlers in limited parcels, at a price barely sufficient to reimburse to the United States the expense of the present system, and the cost arising under our Indian compacts. To put an end forever to all partial and interested legislation on this subject, and to afford to every American citizen of enterprise, the opportunity of securing

[27] About 1400 millions of acres, or nearly twenty-five times the extent of the British Islands.

an independent freehold, it seems to me, therefore, best to abandon the idea of raising a future revenue out of the public lands.

Your Committee does not recognize the authority of Congress to shut out from those lands such citizens as may not have money to pay another ransom for them. Still less do we admit their authority to sell the Public Domain, to men who require it only as an engine to lay our children under tribute to their children to all succeeding time. We regard the Public Lands as a Capital Stock, which belongs, not to us only, but also to posterity. The profits of that stock are ours, and the profits only. The moment congress, or any other power, attempts to alienate the stock itself to speculators, that moment do they attempt a cruel, and cowardly, fraud upon posterity, against which, as citizens and as honest men, we enter our most solemn protest. It is enough for us to eat our own bread—what right have we to sit down and consume the bread of our children?

The evil of permitting speculators to monopolize the public lands, is already severely felt in all the new states. When the Emigrant reaches the remote borders of civilization he naturally desires to stop there, and fix his home within the pale of civilized society. But the lands lying for many miles around belong to the speculator, and the unfortunate Emigrant must either pay an exorbitant price, which he is generally unable to do, or move off into the desert, and trust himself to the mercy of the wild Indian far beyond the aid of civilized man.

But what is this evil compared with the distress and misery that is in store for our children should we permit the evil of land monopoly to take firm root in this Republic? Go to Europe. Mark the toil, the rags, the hunger, and the despair which is the sole inheritance

of its countless millions, while a few thousands run into the opposite extreme of luxury, excess, and guilt unspeakable. Look at this horrible state of things, and whilst you do so, remember that the same fate awaits our own Republic, if we permit a Landed Aristocracy to grow up among us.

Look even to our own Republic, and our own State. The two great counties of Albany and Rensselaer, are held by a couple of "Patroons" who impose upon their Tenants burthens, and indignities, now obsolete even in Europe. Mines they must not dig in their lands—mills, or machinery, they must not construct on their waterfalls. For every quarter section, they must pay a rent equivalent to the produce of ten acres of cultivated land—this yearly, and every year. If they sell a farm or even bequeath it to their children, the Patroon demands one fourth the entire value of it every time it is so transferred. The "tenant" is obliged to do "service" with a horse and wagon for his "lord"—nay he is even enjoined to bring in four fat fowls and deposit them in the Patroon's larder, once in every year. American spirit has already risen up against these outrageous conditions, and it is, even now, threatening civil discord in the State! Such, and so disastrous, will be the future page of our history if we permit the public Lands to go into the grasp of insolent Monopolists.

Your Committee have perused, with much satisfaction a Report made, a few days ago by the Committee on Public Lands—and which Report is now under the consideration of Congress. We solicit your marked attention to the following extract from that most important document.

In short your Committee think it should be an important, if not a controlling consideration with the Government, to legislate so as to change the floating population (to be found to a greater or less extent

in all parts of the country) into a permanent, well organized, and orderly community; for, as has been well remarked by a distinguished Senator, "Tenantry is unfavorable to freedom;" it lays the foundation for separate orders in society; annihilates the love of country, and weakens the spirit of independence. The Tenant has, in fact, no country, no hearth, no domestic altar, no household god. The Freeholder, on the contrary, is the natural support of a free government – and it should be the policy of Republics to multiply their Freeholders, as it is the policy of monarchies to multiply Tenants. We are a Republic, and we wish to continue so – then multiply the class of freeholders – pass the Public Lands cheaply and easily into the hands of the people. Sell for a reasonable price to those who are able to pay, and give without price to those who are not.

The first great object, then, is to assert and establish the right of the people to the soil; to be used by them in their own day, and transmitted – an inalienable heritage – to their posterity. The principles of justice, and the voice of expediency, or rather of necessity,[28] demand that this fundamental principle shall be established as the paramount law, with the least possible delay.

That once effected, let an outlet be formed that will carry off our superabundant labor to the salubrious and fertile West. In those regions thousands, and tens of thousands, who are now languishing in hopeless poverty, will find a certain and a speedy independence. The labor market will be thus eased of the present distressing competition; and those who remain, as well as those who emigrate, will have the opportunity of realizing a comfortable living.

That such would be the effect, complete and immediate, your Committee entertain not the slightest doubt. But they are well aware that it will require much energy, and perseverance, on the part of the working people,

[28] Machinery and pauperism are marching hand in hand. Thirty years ago the number of paupers in the whole United States was estimated at 29,166, or 1 in 300. The pauperism of New York city amounts now to 51,600 or 1 in every 7 of the population! Where will this evil end? Will we get rid of it by erecting a Workhouse here, and a Prison there?

to bring about the change which we have ventured to recommend. We know you to possess the energy of character—we are satisfied of your perseverance, for both have been severely tested in your every day pursuits. But what we dread is, that your Committee is not equal to the task of rousing your energies—of laying before you, in its vast magnitude, the change that it is in the power of the working people to accomplish.

At present the Workingman toils on through the period of a dreary existence, content if he can secure enough of the common necessaries of life. He leaves behind him a family with no heritage but his own—no means to live, but by hiring out their bodies to be worked for the benefit of others.

Time rolls on—and in the lapse of a few ages all those boundless fields which now invite us to their bosom, become the settled property of individuals. Our descendants wish to raise themselves from the condition of hirelings, but they wish it in vain. They cannot approach a field on which the Capitalist has not set his mark, and each succeeding age their condition becomes more and more hopeless. They read the history of their country; they learn that there was a time when their fathers could have preserved those domains, and transmitted them, free and unincumbered, to their children. When our posterity look back to the opportunity that we are now losing, they will not bless our memory if we leave them nothing but a heritage of toil and dependence.

On the contrary, if by one bold step we fix ourselves upon the soil, our descendants will be in possession of an independence that cannot fail so long as God hangs his bow in the clouds, and glads the earth with his returning seasons.

Your Committee is of the opinion, that the day is not

far distant when the Steam Engine will be applied successfully to the cultivation of the soil, the gathering of crops, and preparing them for use and market. At present all improvements in power machinery are directed towards the perfection of Navigation and Manufactures, those ends once accomplished, inventive genius will immediately set about applying machinery to the cultivation of the soil. It is reasonable to suppose that it will be as successful in the latter field as it has been in the former – and if so, the toil and drudgery of the farmer's life will be exchanged for the superintendence of a power capable of performing more work in a day than could be performed under the old systems by weeks of painful manual toil.[29]

We might here, again, expatiate upon the revolution which the Steam Engine has already produced, in the demand for human labor – a revolution that is going on, and will not end till very little manual toil will be required in any branch of industry. We might show that, as this revolution progresses, the condition of the hired laborer must grow worse, and worse till the Human Machine is driven wholly out of the market. We

[29] Indeed we find that Science has already entered the field of Agriculture. Already are steam ploughs in profitable employment, even in the British Islands where manual labor can be had for almost nothing. Already is a machine at work on our Southern plantations that can in cultivating sugar, perform the work of 40 negroes – already do we observe that several patents have been taken out at Washington, for machines to be used in cutting down and gathering in of field crops. The Threshing Machine is now in universal use: and doubtless every other description of machine that may be requisite in agriculture will soon follow in its train. And further the Commissioner of Patents informs us that: By a machine drawn by oxen, drains of 14 inches deep, and 28 wide, can be excavated at a cost of 3 cents per rod. Drains of any requisite depth can be made at a proportionate expense. Wheat growers in France have doubled the product within the last 25 years, by the aid of Chemistry. They have also found the means of feeding on a given quantity of food, twice the number of cattle which it supported formerly. Taos wheat (of New Mexico) is of excellent quality and produces seven heads, instead of one.

might dwell upon the suffering that must fall to the lot of men who vainly struggle to compete with a monster having "nerves of iron, and animated by a pulse of steam." But we will not dwell upon the prospective disadvantages, that await the hired laborer, and the prospective benefits that lie before the man who fixes himself upon the soil. Let us confine ourselves to the present time—let us take things as they now exist—let us compare the hired laborer with the farm settler, who has only been one year on the soil. One toiling incessantly for a slender subsistence, and not secure of even that. The other toiling hard, to be sure, but surrounded by waving fields, blossoming orchards, and all the health and innocence of a rural life—everything that belongs to him growing better, and better every year—his hopes rising and brightening beyond his present labors and difficulties—compare that man, indeed, with the recipient of a daily pittance, in return for his daily toil. Unable to call anything of value his own; without hope, without assurance that even his present wretched subsistence will be continued to him. Surely, even in the first year of his settlement, the condition of the farmer will be found vastly superior to that of the mere hired workman, and each succeeding year will add greatly to the difference of their respective conditions.

But it may be said that all we have here laid down is sufficiently obvious to everybody. We believe that it is so, and we anticipate you in saying that the real question of difficulty is, how to achieve those rights, and realize those advantages, which every individual acknowledges to exist.

Your Committee can perceive but one way of accomplishing those objects, and that is by combination—by a determined and brotherly union of all citizens who believe the principles set forth to be just, in themselves,

and necessary to the public welfare. We propose, therefore, that such Union be organized at once. It is our opinion that all citizens who desire to join the ranks of the National Reformers shall have an opportunity of doing so without delay. Having recommended this step, it becomes our duty to submit for your adoption a Constitution, which may serve for present organization. After mature and anxious deliberation on the matter, we are unanimously of opinion that nothing can be effected without putting the National Reform Test to every candidate for legislative office, State and National. Any man who would oppose the measure of justice for which we contend is not a Republican at all—he is a Monarchist, in soul, and we should treat him as such at the Ballot Box.

The labor of your committee ends here, but we cannot close without expressing our belief, that, if the working men lead the way, manfully, in this reform, they will be immediately joined by a great majority of the non-producing classes. Various motives of a personal nature will induce them to join us—not to say a word about that patriotism and love of justice which, we trust, belong alike to every class in this Republican Community. Signed:

THOMAS A. DEVYR, GEORGE H. EVANS, JOHN COMMERFORD, CHARLES P. GARDNER, DANIEL FOSTER, E. S. MANNING, JOHN WINDT, ROBERT BEATTIE, JR., JAMES MAXWELL, MIKE WALSH, D. WITTER, W. L. MACKENZIE, JAMES A. PYNE, LEWIS MASQUERIER.

(c) "VOTE YOURSELF A FARM"

True Workingman, Jan. 24, 1846. The following was distributed as a circular or handbill in large quantities.

Are you an American citizen? Then you are a joint-owner of the public lands. Why not take enough of

your property to provide yourself a home? Why not vote yourself a farm?

Remember poor Richard's saying: "Now I have a sheep and a cow, every one bids me 'good morrow.'" If a man have a house and a home of his own, though it be a thousand miles off, he is well received in other people's houses; while the homeless wretch is turned away. The bare right to a farm, though you should never go near it, would save you from many an insult. Therefore, Vote yourself a farm.

Are you a party follower? Then you have long enough employed your vote to benefit scheming office-seekers; use it for once to benefit yourself—Vote yourself a farm.

Are you tired of slavery—of drudging for others—of poverty and its attendant miseries? Then, Vote yourself a farm.

Are you endowed with reason? Then you must know that your right to life hereby includes the right to a place to live in—the right to a home. Assert this right, so long denied mankind by feudal robbers and their attorneys. Vote yourself a farm.

Are you a believer in the scriptures? Then assert that the land is the Lord's, because He made it. Resist then the blasphemers who exact money for His work, even as you would resist them should they claim to be worshipped for His holiness. Emancipate the poor from the necessity of encouraging such blasphemy—Vote the freedom of the public lands.

Are you a man? Then assert the sacred rights of man—especially your right to stand upon God's earth, and to till it for your own profit. Vote yourself a farm.

Would you free your country, and the sons of toil everywhere, from the heartless, irresponsible mastery

of the aristocracy of avarice? Would you disarm this aristocracy of its chief weapon, the fearful power of banishment from God's earth? Then join with your neighbors to form a true American party, having for its guidance the principles of the American revolution, and whose chief measures shall be – 1. To limit the quantity of land that any one man may henceforth monopolize or inherit; and 2. To make the public lands free to actual settlers only, each having the right to sell his improvements to any man not possessed of other land. These great measures once carried, wealth would become a changed social element; it would then consist of the accumulated products of human labor, instead of a hoggish monoply of the products of God's labor; and the antagonism of capital and labor would forever cease. Capital could no longer grasp the largest share of the laborer's earnings, as a reward for not doing him all the injury the laws of the feudal aristocracy authorize, viz: the denial of all stock to work upon and all place to live in. To derive any profit from the laborer, it must first give him work; for it could no longer wax fat by levying a dead tax upon his existence. The hoary iniquities of Norman land pirates would cease to pass current as American law. Capital, with its power for good undiminished, would lose the power to oppress; and a new era would dawn upon the earth, and rejoice the souls of a thousand generations. Therefore forget not to Vote yourself a farm.

(d) ORGANIZED LABOR – SHOEMAKERS

Working Man's Advocate, June 29, 1844.

On Wednesday evening, June 26, 1844, a meeting of the Journeymen Cordwainers of the City of New York was held at the Fourteenth Ward Hotel, corner of Grand and Elizabeth streets, to take into consideration

the best mode for relieving the working classes. Mr. David Kilmer was called to the Chair, and Daniel Witter appointed Secretary. The meeting was then addressed by Mr. Beeny on the subject of the freedom of the Public Lands. Mr. Evans then, by request, addressed the meeting at some length, on the same subject. Mr. John White next addressed the meeting, and made some very appropriate remarks to induce the working classes to elect Working Men to represent them in our Legislative Halls, if we ever wanted any thing from the hands of Congress. Mr. Evans then made some remarks in explanation of the plan proposed by the National Reform Association, and the meeting was briefly addressed by Mr. Kohler, President of the Ladies' Branch, and by the Chairman and Secretary. The following resolutions were then offered by Mr. Beeny, and adopted.

RESOLUTIONS. Whereas it has become fully evident to every man disposed to reflection, that useful labor not only does not receive its just reward in this Republic, but that its compensation is gradually growing less; and whereas it is plain that this state of things cannot continue without endangering if not overthrowing, the valuable institutions that have been dearly purchased; it has therefore become the imperative duty of every lover of humanity and of freedom to investigate the causes of the fast increasing degradation of useful labor.

RESOLVED, that as it is a duty, deduced no less from the laws of Nature than from Divine authority, that every man should earn his living by useful labor, that system of society must be wrong that enables some to live in affluence without performing their share, while others are performing more than a double share and hardly obtaining a competence, and others still are pre-

vented from obtaining a living by industry though anxious and willing to do so.

RESOLVED, that in view of the rapid progress of machinery, in superseding manual labor, it is the duty of the laborer to ascertain whether arrangements cannot be made by which machinery may be made to work for instead of against him.

RESOLVED, that, as machinery throws manual labor upon the market, the article necessarily cheapens, and it becomes necessary for the laborer to perform more work to procure the means of existence; this still further cheapens the article, (labor) and the only limit to the operation is the extent of human endurance. This, we may say, is almost the case now with all trades which, like our own, live by piece work.

RESOLVED, that it is a fatal error for those trades that live by day labor, to suppose that they are not affected by the oppression of those who live by piece work; for the latter will naturally put their sons to the trades that are doing best; the result of which is that they are overstocked, and their wages liable to continual reduction by the numbers unemployed, and ready to step into their shoes in case of a strike.

RESOLVED, therefore, that we see the absolute necessity of a Union of Trades, to devise means, if any there be, to render Labor independent of, if not master over, Machinery, and to enable the Laborer to obtain a fair average of the fruits of production, in return for a fair average of the labor of production.

RESOLVED, that we recommend a National Convention of the Trades, to consider this subject, and, in the mean time, commend to the consideration of our Craft, and of our brother Working Men throughout the Union, the measure of the National Reform Association,

to make the Public Lands of the States and of the United States free to Actual Settlers in limited quantities, enabling every man to become an Independent Landholder; a measure which, as it seems to us, would go far towards restoring to Labor its Rights.

RESOLVED, that we approve of the sentiments contained in the Circular of the Mechanics of Fall River, calling a New Engand Convention, and will co-operate with them to the extent of our ability; and that we recommend the appointment of delegates to said Convention.

On motion by Mr. Beeny, resolved that we adjourn to meet again this night four weeks.

DAVID KILMER, Ch'n.–HENRY WITTER, Sec'y.

(e) ATTITUDE OF GERMANS

Young America, Nov. 8, 1845, p. 2, col. 1.

At a large and respectable meeting of Germans, inhabitants of the city of New York, held on Friday evening, 31st October, at Franklin Hall, Mr. H. Arends was called to the Chair, Mr. Mandelslohe was chosen Vice-president, and Mr. Frolich appointed Secretary. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:

RESOLVED, we declare solemnly before the face of the world that we have no country but the earth, and that all men have an equal right to live upon it.

RESOLVED, we call ourselves Americans, and have no other interests than those of the American people, because America is the asylum of the oppressed everywhere, and because the interest of the American people is the interest of the whole human race.

RESOLVED, we care not for party names and professions, but will sustain whatever furthers the great cause of humanity.

RESOLVED, we recognize in the National Reformers our fellow-laborers in the cause of progress, as pioneers of a better future, as the advocates of the cause of the oppressed children of Industry, and as the only true democracy of the land.

RESOLVED, we let not ourselves be led astray by the clamorous outcries of selfish interests, and pledge ourselves with joy to sustain the following proclamation of the National Reformers:

That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among which are the Right to Life and Liberty; to the use of such a portion of the earth, and the other elements, as shall be sufficient to provide them with the means of subsistence and comfort; to education and paternal protection from society.

RESOLVED, in accordance herewith we engage ourselves individually and collectively to co-operate with all our strength with our co-workers, the National Reformers, to bring before the whole American People those simple principles, and thus to aid in carrying out gloriously this new reform.

A Committee of seven were chosen to make preparations for a second meeting in two weeks from the same day following. At the close of the meeting the two following additional resolutions were unanimously passed:

RESOLVED, that the officers of this meeting are requested to prepare an address to the Editors of all the German papers in the United States, in which they will be earnestly called upon to examine seriously and adopt the principles of evident justice proclaimed by the National Reformers.

RESOLVED, that in our opinion any paper that has not

the courage to proclaim the right of man to the soil – the first and most sacred of all rights – loses all claim to be called a democratic paper.

(f) THE PLEDGE

(1) In 1844.
Working Man's Advocate, April 6, 1844.

We, whose names are annexed, desirous of restoring to man his Natural Right to Land, do solemnly agree, that we will not vote for any man, for any legislative office, who will not pledge himself, in writing, to use all the influence of his station, if elected, to prevent all further traffic in the Public Lands of the States and of the United States, and to cause them to be laid out in Farms and Lots for the free and exclusive use of actual settlers.

(2) In 1848.
Young America, Sept. 23, 1848.

We whose names are annexed desirous of restoring to man his Natural Right to Land, do solemnly agree, that we will not vote for any man for the Presidency or Congress who will not pledge himself in writing to use all the influence of his station, if elected, to prevent all further traffic in the Public Lands of the States and of the United States, and to cause them to be laid out in Farms and Lots for the free and exclusive use of actual settlers; or for any man for the Governorship or the Legislature who will not so pledge himself to the Freedom of the Public Lands, to a Limitation of the quantity of land to be obtained by any individual hereafter in this State, to the exemption of the Homestead from any future debt or mortgage, and to a limitation to ten of the hours of daily labor on public works or in establishments chartered by law.

(g) PROPOSED BILLS

(1) For Congress.
Young America, Sept. 23, 1848.

FREEDOM OF THE PUBLIC LANDS. An act to establish the equal right to the use of the Land and its natural products; to afford a refuge to the landless population of the United States; to secure Homesteads to individuals, families, and associations; to provide for the increase of population; to make Labor the master instead of the slave of Capital; and to perpetuate the Republic.

Section 1. Be it enacted, &c., that the lands of the United States shall no longer be sold.

Section 2. That the Public Lands shall henceforth be surveyed into townships of six miles square, subdivided into farm lots of a quarter section of 160 acres each, except one section in each township which shall be surveyed into village lots in sufficient quantity for the farms, and a Public Park for Town Hall, groves, and other public buildings or ornaments.

Section 3. That where there may be no natural obstruction the Village shall be laid out in the centre section of the township, unless there be natural advantages in some other location to warrant a departure from the general rule.

Section 4. That there shall be Public Roads between the townships six rods wide and also roads of equal width diagonally through each township, except when the village location or natural obstructions may render partial variations necessary.

Section 5. That any landless native of the United States, male or female, or any other adult landless person who will legally testify, that he or she has taken the necessary steps to become a citizen, and intends to be so as soon as possible, may, on payment of Five Dol-

lars to cover expenses of survey and registration at the land office in the district, enter one farm or village lot, of any surveyed and not previously entered, except such as may be settled at the time this act shall become a law, and possess the same by actual residence; provided, that in case of marriage, where both parties may be in possession of public lots, the settlement right of one or other must be disposed of within a year or forfeited to the United States; and provided further, that the purchase or possession of other land shall be a forfeiture of the right of possession of a public lot to the United States.

Section 6. That each legal settler on a public lot shall have a right at all times to dispose of his or her right of possession, but if a married male only with the consent of his wife, by deed legally executed, to any landless person qualified as herein before provided, who shall then stand in the same relation to the United States as the previous settler.

Section 7. That the right of possession of a public lot may be heired or willed as may other property under the laws of the State or Territory in which the lot may be situated; excepting always, that it can pass into the hands of none but a landless person.

Section 8. That any number of persons qualified as aforesaid may hold their portions of land in common; provided the Association shall have no power to eject a member except in accordance with a written agreement, duly authenticated previous to his or her settlement.

Section 9. That any settler proved guilty of destroying trees, either in person or by proxy, on any public lot other than his or her own possession, shall forfeit the possession to the town in which such offence may have been committed, if settled, or to the nearest settled

township, which shall then as soon as possible dispose of the same to a person holding no other land.

Section 10. That as soon as forty lots in a township may be legally settled, the people of the township, in their corporate capacity, shall have power to regulate or take possession of water mill sites or other natural facilities for the use of water power, on compensating the settlers of the lots containing such advantage for their improvements thereof, as may be agreed upon by arbitrators mutually chosen, or by a jury selected out of the township.

Section 11. That Mines discovered on public lots may be worked by the settlers, the town, the county, or the state, the superior organization always having the right to take possession on paying for the uncompensated improvements at a valuation agreed upon mutually, by arbitration, or by an impartial jury.

Section 12. That as soon as any State or Territory containing public lands shall provide by law that no one shall thereafter acquire over 160 acres of farm land or two city or village lots within its borders, that State or Territory shall be entitled to the jurisdiction of all unsurveyed public lands within its limits, to survey and settle the same under the regulations herein provided, or such other regulations for the security of an equal right to the soil and its natural products as Congress may from time to time make.

Section 13. That all actual settlers with pre-emption rights at the time this act shall become a law, if possessed of no other land, shall be entitled to the possession of the lots upon which they have settled, on making proof of settlement at the land office.

Section 14. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of the act be hereby repealed.

(2) For the States.
Young America, Sept. 23, 1848.

LAND LIMITATION AND HOMESTEAD EXEMPTION. The people of the State of ———, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. After the Fourth of July, 184–, no individual shall become possessor of more than One Hundred and Sixty acres of Agricultural Land, or, in lieu thereof, of more than two Lots of one Acre each, or of more than one dwelling house and one building for trade, or business, in this State, nor of any portion of land whatever, except for the purpose of his or her actual use and residence as a citizen of the State.

Section 2. The heir or heirs of any landholder possessing more than he, she, or they would be entitled to hold in accordance with the preceding section, or their legal representatives, shall be allowed one year to dispose of the surplus, after choosing their portions in a compact form to be sanctioned by officers to whom the necessary authority shall be delegated by the people at their annual town meetings. (An additional act or section would be necessary to provide that, in case of a neglect or refusal of heirs or their legal representatives so to dispose of surplus land, then the said town officers shall apportion Homesteads to the heirs, sell the surplus, and pay over the proceeds to the heirs or their guardians, and to direct the time and manner of sale.)

Section 3. From and after the passage of this act, the Homestead of every freeholder, to the extent of one hundred and sixty acres of farm land, or two city or village lots, not to exceed one acre each, nor to contain more than one dwelling house and one building for trade or business, shall not be mortgaged or sold for any debt thereafter contracted, or alienated for any other

cause than a debt previously contracted, except by free consent of such freeholder at the time of sale and of the wife as well as the husband where such relation may exist.

Section 4. Any will conveying more than one hundred and sixty acres of farm and to one individual, including what he or she may previously possess, or lots and houses exceeding the limits prescribed in the preceding sections, shall be invalid, and the possession shall be disposed of as provided by the intestate laws in accordance with the limitations prescribed by this act.

Section 5. Associations of families may hold land in common, for actual residence and subsistence, under a general act of incorporation, provided that they shall not hold, at any time, more than would be their share were the land equally divided in the State, nor in any case more than an average of fifty acres to each adult person in the Association. . .

(h) MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS

(1) To the Congress of the United States.
Form of petition from the *Working Man's Advocate,* Nov. 30, 1844.

The undersigned Citizens of New York respectfully represent that, in their opinion, the system of Land Traffic imported to this country from Europe is wrong in principle; that it is fast debasing us to the condition of a nation of dependant tenants, of which condition a rapid increase of inequality, misery, pauperism, vice, and crime are the necessary consequences; and that, therefore now, in the infancy of the Republic, we should take effectual measures to eradicate the evil, and establish a principle more in accordance with our republican theory, as laid down in the Declaration of Independence; to which end we propose that the Gen-

eral Government shall no longer traffic, or permit traffic, in the Public Lands yet in its possession, and that they shall be laid out in Farms and Lots for the free use of such citizens (not possessed of other land) as will occupy them, allowing the settler the right to dispose of his possession to any one not possessed of other land; and that the jurisdiction of the Public Lands be transferred to States only on condition that such a disposition should be made of them.

Your memorialists offer the following reasons for such a disposition of the lands as they propose:

1. It would increase the number of freeholders and decrease the anti-republican dependence of those who might not become freeholders; exactly reversing the state of things now in progress.

2. As the drain of the population would gradually be to where the land was free, the price of all land held for traffic would gradually decrease, till, ultimately, the land-holders would see greater advantages in an Agrarian plan that would make every man a freeholder, than in the system of land-selling, under which their children might become dependent tenants.

3. City populations would diminish gradually till every inhabitant could be the owner of a comfortable habitation; and the country population would be more compactly settled, making less roads and bridges necessary, and giving greater facilities of education.

4. There need be no Standing Army, for there would soon be a chain of Townships along the frontiers, settled by independent freemen, willing and able to protect the country.

5. The danger of Indian aggressions would be materially lessened if our people only took possession of land enough for their use.

6. The strongest motive to encroachments by Whites

on the rights of the Indians would be done away with by prohibiting speculation in land.

7. The ambition, avarice, or enterprise that would, under the present system, add acre to acre, would be directed, more usefully, to the improvement of those to which each man's possession was limited.

8. There would be no Repudiation of State Debts, for, let people settle the land compactly, and they could, and would, make all desirable improvements without going into debt.

9. National prosperity and the prosperity of the masses would be coincident, here again reversing the present order of things, of which England is a notable example.

10. Great facilities would be afforded to test the various plans of Association, which now engage the attention of so large a proportion of our citizens, and which have been found to work so well, so far as the accumulation of wealth and the prevention of crime and pauperism are concerned, in the case of those longest established, for instance, the Zoarites, Rappites, and Shakers.

11. The now increasing evil of office-seeking would be diminished, both by doing away with the necessity of many offices now in existence, and by enabling men to obtain a comfortable existence without degrading themselves to become office beggars. Cincinnatus and Washington could with difficulty be prevailed upon to take office, because they knew there was more real enjoyment in the cultivation of their own homesteads.

12. It would, in a great measure, do away the now necessary evil of laws and lawyers, as there could be no disputes about rents, mortgages, or land titles, and morality would be promoted by the encouragement and protection of industry.

13. As the people of England are now fast turning their attention to the recovery of their long-lost right to the soil, it would give them encouragement in their object, and enable them the sooner to furnish happy homes for the thousands who otherwise would come among us as exiles from their native land.

14. The principle of an Equal Right to the Soil once established, would be the recognition of a truth that has been lost sight of by civilization, and which, in our opinion, would tend powerfully to realize the glorious aspirations of philanthropists, universal peace and universal freedom.

New York, 1844.

(2) A Voice from Congress.
Working Man's Advocate, June 8, 1844.

Washington, May 29, 1844.

Dear Sir – Each man can only do a certain amount of good in this world. In attempting too much, he often fails in that which he might actually accomplish. In all the questions which came before Congress, I have taken, and supported to the best of my ability, that side which I considered to be in accordance with just principles of human rights. If, so far as I have gone, I have gone right, that is something; even if it should be thought I have not gone far enough.

That some disposition of the soil, other than that which our present laws provide, will ultimately be made, I do not doubt; in what precise form, I do not pretend to decide. There is a bill now in our House much reducing the present rates of Government Land; it will receive my support. And I do not think, at the present moment, that in practice, a greater innovation can succeed. I see, however, with pleasure, these great subjects fully and unshrinkingly discussed; and am

much indebted to Mr. Evans for sending me his paper, which is ably conducted. I am, dear sir,

Sincerely yours, —— ——.

. . . The great importance of this letter, as we see it, consists in the following points:

1st. The writer's conviction "that some other disposition of the soil will ultimately be made," than that which now prevails.

2nd. The intimation that Congress are now deliberating upon a bill making, as they consider, concessions to the spirit of "innovation."

3rd. The pleasure of the writer to see the subject of Land Monopoly "unshrinkingly discussed."

. . . The assertion, with which it commences, that a man, by attempting to do too much good in the way of reform, often fails in that which he might accomplish, is a truth; but what does it amount to? Some forty years ago, a till then obscure individual at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, named Thomas Spence, asserted that the land of England belonged to the people of England and not to a chosen few; and he actually attempted to carry this doctrine into practice by giving the people the rents; but the aristocratic few, who held the land, and who had the power, took alarm, and suppressed the meetings of the Spenceans by Acts of Parliament! Spence, of course, failed in his object; and there is no question that, if, instead of making speeches, writing pamphlets and books, and getting up a society, in favor of restoring to the people the right to land; if, instead of this, he had turned his attention to making buttons, a man of his genius, perseverance and industry, might have succeeded in producing a very good article, which the government would not have prohibited; thus Spence failed in what he attempted,

and did not do the good that he might have done. But let us look a little further to consequences: Spence had sown his seed, though it did not germinate. We often hear of the vegetation of seed accidentally brought to the surface after being buried for years below the influence of solar heat. So it was with the seed sown by Spence. One, at least, of Spence's publications found its way to America, and, in all probability, led to the movement of the Working Men of New York, in 1829, of which the present movement is a second edition, "revised and corrected." And not alone in America have the seeds sown by Spence begun to germinate. For several years past in England have there appeared symptoms of a revival of Spence's principles, though perhaps the men now professing them may not perceive the chain of circumstances connecting their opinions with those of the bold reformer; and now we see principles identical with those of Spence, openly and fearlessly promulgated by an O'Brien and an O'Connor, without hindrance by acts of Parliament. This comes of "attempting too much." . .

The first duty of the legislator is to ascertain what are Natural Rights? The second, to see if the Constitution, under which he is called upon to act, is in accordance with Natural Rights; and if he finds no defect here, his third duty is to make such laws as will protect every individual in the enjoyment of his Natural Rights, this being the true object of that association of the people called government. But if he finds the Constitution defective, his first object should be to get it amended, and, in the mean time, to refrain from making laws in accordance with such parts of it as violate or authorize a violation of Natural Rights.

Apply these principles to the case before us. The legislator, we will suppose, has ascertained what Natural

Rights are, and he finds that the most important of these, the right to land enough to live upon, is not secured to his constituents; this is a wrong of the State Constitutions, a wrong inherited from the British monarchy; but it so happens, that the government, of which he forms a part, possesses the constitutional means to remedy the evil. They have a vast amount of land under their control. Hitherto, the General Government, as well as the State Governments, have legalized traffic in the land; have bought and sold men's Natural Rights. By depriving a portion of the people of their right to the soil, they have forced them, in some cases, into other occupations, than that which they would have chosen, the cultivation of the soil, thus causing an undue proportion of particular employments. The interests thus forced into existence have then sought and obtained protection, at the expense of the rest. The question now comes up, shall this protection, this tax upon the many for the benefit of the few, be continued? What is the duty of the legislator in this case? To argue the abstract right of Free Trade, which can only be put in practice by setting adrift upon other men's land, to beg employment, the laborers he has forced into factories? or, first to secure him the right to labor independently on his own land? If he should pursue the first course, though he might be doing "something," would he not do much more by pursuing the latter? We might enlarge here upon that moral heroism that dares in a just cause to take the lead of public sentiment, and run the risk of consequences to self, and show how seldom the consequences are fatal to him who is "bold enough to be honest and honest enough to be bold;" but our space compels us to come to a more important point in the letter. The writer says–

There is a bill now in our House, much reducing the rates of gov-

ernment land; it shall receive my support. And I do not think, at the present moment, that a greater innovation can succeed.

This extract is all-important. The member appears to think, and probably the authors of the bill are of the same opinion, that to reduce the rates of government land would be a concession to the new movement. It would not be so; and we are confident that not a man prominently engaged in this cause would consider it so. On the contrary, they will loudly protest against it. Let it be distinctly understood, that we want no reduction in the price of the lands. We want them free; free to the use of every man, but not free to monopoly by any. Our principle is that use of the earth, a portion sufficiently to live upon, is man's natural right. This principle admitted, it is then the business of the government to decide how much is necessary for a man to live upon, secure to all, on coming of age, the right to an equal quantity, and provide that no one shall possess more than the quantity designated.

Now it will be seen that to reduce the price of the lands, without restricting the quantity to be held, is only inviting monopoly! and therefore we protest against it. The National Reform Association would prefer that the Lands should be sold at ten dollars an acre, with a restriction of the quantity to be held by an individual, rather than that they should be reduced to twenty-five cents, or even to nothing at all, without such restriction. They who think that the mere object of getting possession of 160 acres of land, as an article of merchandise, is the motive of the pioneers in this movement, have a very contracted notion of our object, as they will see by the preceding remarks. . .

2. RELATION TO OTHER REFORMS

(a) ASSOCIATION

(1) Evans's attack.
Working Man's Advocate, April 20, 1844.

. . . The process by which they propose to arrest the increasing degradation of labor, and to make attractive and healthful what is now irksome and killing, is, according to their own showing, a very tedious and uncertain one. To use a homely simile, it appears to be "a saving at the spiggot and letting out at the bung hole." An error at the bottom of our present incoherent, unjust, and debasing system, we believe, as did their great master, Fourier, to be property in land. We believe this to be the great error of our present system; and, if so, by acting on the plan of the Fourierites at their recent convention; that is, by keeping the fundamental error entirely out of view, what are they doing? Suppose that the precise plan of Fourier is the ultimate destiny of man, and suppose that they have overcome all the obstacles of which they speak; suppose that they do succeed in establishing Fourier Associations; while they are redeeming three square miles of territory will not thousands of square miles now in a state of nature become populated on the plan of society of which they as well as so many others now so clearly see the bad effects? Or, rather, would not this be the result, if all reformers were to act on the principle that "our evils are social, not political."

We believe that the one great error of our system is political, and that, like men who understand their business, we should begin by removing that error. That

error removed, we believe, with our correspondent, that Association to every desirable extent would follow. Families would remain united to the third and fourth generations, and perhaps unite with other families. Industry, instead of being debased and degraded, would become attractive and agreeable. There would be no want of employment, and no fear of want. Every man would be enabled to get a living by the sweat of his brow, and no one would be enabled to live without following some useful employment. Rents and mortgages would be unknown, but every man, of every occupation, would live, or might live, in his own house, on his own premises. These are a few of the many desirable results that might be brought about, in thousands of townships, on the lands now held by the public, if we arrest the political error of selling the lands, and allow them to be settled by those now deprived of their birthright.

There is one feature of Association that our correspondent objects to that we look upon in a different light: the public table. This, in Association, would not be the eating house system; but, according to our view, something widely different. In the one case, you are among strangers, for whom you have no affinity or sympathy. In the other among friends, acquaintances and relatives, whose happiness it is your pleasure and interest to promote. And the economy of domestic drudgery which the Association, or large family arrangement, promises to woman, we can not but look upon as a consummation most devoutedly to be wished for.

There are other positive advantages of Fourierism that we can appreciate, and it has the negative good quality of depicting in the most true and glowing colors the evils of our present social system; but there are features of it that we can not yet understand, and there

are others that we can understand of which we disapprove.

On the whole, we regard Fourierism, under its present modification, as a scheme to renovate society, to be an impracticability. Good may and we believe will come of it, but to a very limited extent; but, generally speaking, the rich will not engage in it, and the poor can not. Every true Fourierite, therefore, while doing all that he deems proper to put in practice his favorite theory, should keep constantly in view, the more radical remedy for present evils, the freedom of the public lands.

(2) Macdaniel's Reply.
The *Phalanx*, Aug. 10, 1844, p. 229.

. . . We must settle, first, what are the natural rights of man? second, what are the acquired rights of man? third, how shall his natural and acquired rights be equitably and amicably adjusted? fourth, what is Capital? fifth, what are the true relations of Capital and Labor, and how shall their rights be reconciled to their mutual satisfaction? . . . It appears to us that they who advocate merely an agrarian division of the Land, overlook all of the most essential points in these questions, and cherishing with single-eyed tenacity one answer only to the question, What are the natural rights of man? they lose sight of all others, and compromise cardinal principles. The answer is, Man has a right to the Soil. But, then, the answer is compound in its nature, and not simple, as our agrarian friends state it. The right of Man to the soil being admitted, the answer they give is, that every Man has a right to a "portion" of it, and upon this answer they build their whole scheme of an agrarian division. . . The right itself in principle is a "natural" one, but it

does not follow that the way in which one may propose to secure it is a natural one. Therefore, when our friends ask if we "recognize the natural right of every laborer to a portion of the soil," we tell them that they are guilty of an illogical assumption. . . Man possesses the right to the use of the soil, or as it is expressed by our School, the right to the Usufruct of the Earth, and he cannot be deprived of this right on which his subsistence depends. . . We do not recognize the right of any man to a "portion," inasmuch as this is not a "natural" right. . . As a member of the race, entitled to the Usufruct of the Earth, I ask, Who shall say which is my "portion"? I must reside on and cultivate my "portion" to entitle me to its use, who then shall assign to me the spot upon the face of the Earth which I shall occupy? These questions have many bearings, but they bring to mind immediately another natural right, which it is necessary to provide for. . . This is the right to travel! . . .

We are not in favor of giving "a portion of the soil to the laborer to labor upon." We think there is a better way of obtaining and securing his natural right to the soil. We regard all his rights and his higher nature, now smothered and trampled in the dust, as ignominiously as any of his fundamental rights. We would elevate him above the condition of a mere "laborer" to that of true manhood, and make him a whole man, conscious of his own divinely derived dignity, a being not merely the possessor of "a portion of the land," but a Free-man, King of the whole Earth!

The second question addressed to us by the *People's Rights*, is more readily disposed of: "And if acknowledging the natural right (to a "portion" of the land) is it (the *Phalanx*) in favor of preventing the further sale and monopoly of the yet unappropriated soil (the

public lands,) in violation of that right?" . . . We cannot perceive how the laboring population, even of this country, to any great extent, will be benefitted by such a "distribution of the public lands," as the agrarian scheme proposes. The possession of land by the laborer is not sufficient to insure him abundance and comfort. Thousands and tens of thousands are already in possession of more land than they can use, who are very far from being in an enviable situation. It is a notorious fact of the present day, and, apparently, a strange anomaly, that men grow poor on the best land. . . If it is said that besides this, we have the plan of the divided and subdivided township, which gives to every man his "portion," then we ask you, Whence do you get your plan? Is it your own plan, or is it a plan derived from a higher source, and sanctioned by a higher authority than your own? Is it, in short, the plan of Divine Wisdom, based on the laws of Eternal Order? . . . Unless the Government or Capitalists undertake the direction of colonization, and provide the working classes with all that is necessary as an outfit, as well as with the land, they cannot avail themselves of what is deemed a "natural right." It is very certain neither the Government nor Capitalists will do this. If it is not necessary that they should, then neither is it necessary for the government to give away its public lands, in order that our agrarian friends may realize their project. There are millions of fertile acres in this and other countries, which they can have for the settlement of them, "without money and without price."

Our friends are deceived in another respect; they derive their ideas from a country where the circumstances do not agree with our own. The idea that "the root of the evil" is in a monopoly of the land, comes from England. There bloated monopoly has indeed most effec-

tually shut out the laborer from the soil, and there the cry of the English Chartists, who are of the same class as the men here who are advocating the agrarian doctrine, is, rightly enough, to the Land! to the Land! The cry is not applicable here, at least in the sense in which it is there uttered. "The root of the evil" is, indeed, the same in both countries, and the cure is the same for both. It is necessary to go upon the Land, not, however, on the principle of "division," but on the principle of Unity. On the principle of united interests, and a joint-stock property in the land, which will secure to every individual his or her natural right of Usufruct of the soil, the Township must be organized, and the people spread over the face of the Earth. Industry must be rendered attractive by the application of the Divine Law of the "Series" to its methods, so that Labor shall no longer be a "curse" and a burthen to be avoided, or even regulated by a "ten hour" or any other short time system, but a blessing, which will be to man the source of the most exalted happiness.

We might enlarge upon the pernicious principle of "antagonism," which is the ruling principle of our agrarian friends, and betrays itself in their third question, when they ask whether we "consider that Labor has a right to stand upon its own ground, and make its own terms with Capital?" This not only shows great ignorance of our principles, but also of the "rights of Labor," which are not to be found or considered as antagonists of those of Capital, making "terms" with it, but as adjuncts and colleagues, reconciled, united, and going hand in hand in all things. . . As a question of state policy, the agrarian project of a distribution of the public lands, may attract politicians, as it may a certain class of the working-men, from its show of justice; and if our friends have eyes to see, they will

perceive that this affords an explanation in great part of that interest manifested in some quarters in their cause, which they mistake for cheering signs of interest in their ultimate object. Politicians of the present day are as far from desiring to free the laborer from the evils he endures, as the agrarian plan is from affording the means to do it. Look to yourselves, not to politicians, look to the plan of God, and not your own!

(3) Evans's Rejoinder.
Working Man's Advocate.

[August 31, 1844] . . . As the *Phalanx* anticipated, he has not satisfied us that our "notions," on the Right to Land, notions the result of fifteen years' serious attention to the subject, are "delusions;" and, consequently, we are still wedded, if the *Phalanx* fancies the borrowed phrase, to our "one idea." Before we proceed, however, we may be allowed, in our own way, to state what our "one idea" is. It is this: That all men have Equal Rights "to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" that the right to life includes the right to the use of the elements or materials of Nature, from which all life must be sustained; and that the rights to liberty and the pursuit of happiness are inseparably connected with the right to the use of the materials of Nature. This is our "one idea," as well as we can condense it at the present moment; and, as a result of it, we hold, that, as among us men do not possess their equal right to the use of the earth, which is the main element necessary to sustain life, neither those who possess the right nor those who are deprived of it can enjoy happiness till the right is universally possessed, for individual happiness cannot exist in contact with misery, which is the result of injustice or ignorance.

Among the questions to be settled, before we can come to a decision on this subject, the *Phalanx* says the

first is, "What are the natural rights of Man?" This we have answered. Second. "What are the acquired rights of man?" The answer to this, we apprehend, involves the difference between Agrarianism and Fourierism as represented by the *Phalanx*. We say that the acquired rights of man are his rights to what his industry has produced to him without encroachment on any other man's rights. To give an illustration, suppose fifty men to be cast on an island capable of sustaining the whole, and that they agree to divide the island among them. Whatever each man produces or gathers from his portion he has acquired a right to; but if thirty, or any other number, have taken possession of all the soil, and made dependants of the rest, they have "acquired" no right to anything, and the whole produce of the soil, no matter whether produced by the landholders or by their dependants, belongs of right equally to all, supposing all to have labored; and, even if apportioned equally to all, cannot do justice to the landless, who have been deprived of their right to the pursuit of happiness, up to the period of the apportionment.

Third. "How shall his natural and acquired rights be equitably and amicably adjusted?" If a man has acquired "rights" (property) by the forced use of another man's rights, there is no equitable mode of adjustment, as we have shown; but there may be an amicable one, based as nearly as practicable on equity, by a restoration of the equal natural right and an equal share of the property.

Fourth. "What is Capital?" It is the accumulated produce of Labor.

Fifth. "What are the true relations of Capital and Labor, and how shall their rights be reconciled to their mutual satisfaction?" The true relations of capital and labor, we think, may be easily stated. As capital is the

produce of labor, it belongs to the producer; that is, if he have not encroached on any man's natural right in producing it. If a man have produced enough by his own labor and his own means in ten years to support him twenty, he has a right to live the second ten years without labor, if so disposed. But if capital has been accumulated by some who have used the labor of others in the accumulation, these others being forced to the work by a deprivation of their natural right to labor for themselves, of right the produce belongs to the producers, though ten thousand statutes should say it belonged to those who had unjust control over the materials of Nature which were the equal right of all.

Capital, therefore, in its true relation, should always be the representative of voluntary labor; or, in other words, should always be found in possession of those who have produced it, or who have received it by voluntary exchange from others (in possession of all their natural rights) who did produce it.

There are two ways in which a man may be rightfully in possession of capital, or accumulated labor. One, by gift from his ancestors or cotemporaries, (provided, of course, that the donors have not obtained it by involuntary labor of others;) the second, by his own labor. If any man is in possession of capital, which is not the result of his own labor, or the gift of another who has not acquired it by his own or the voluntary labor of another, (and voluntary labor, keep in mind, is the labor of a man in possession of all his natural rights,) that capital is not his, but belongs to those whose servitude produced it.

Such, it seems to us, are the "true relations of Capital and Labor;" and if we are right, our *Phalanx* friend will see that the "true relations" are entirely reversed in present society; that those who have labored the least

possess most of the products of labor, or capital; and hence our "one idea," that, to place Labor and Capital in their "true relations," we must begin by abolishing Slavery or involuntary labor of every description, which can only be done by restoring to man his Natural Right to the Soil, and all his other natural rights, of whatever name or nature.

Now what does Fourierism propose to do? To restore Capital to its rightful owners? No. To prevent its use to extort more capital from the laborer without equivalent? Oh, no. To give the laborer a right to get his own living on the soil of his birth, and to accumulate capital for himself, independent of existing capital? Certainly not: the soil of his birth belongs to the Capitalist. Well, then, at least, you will allow the laborer to go into the primeval forest and begin a "Reorganization of Industry" based on Equal Rights? Decidedly not. All that Fourierism will agree to is, that the Landless shall unite with those who have got possession of their accumulated labor, on condition that this labor, or capital, shall have the power of re-production without the labor of the possessor, or in other words, that a Capitalist class (having its origin in injustice) shall, to all eternity, live without labor on the toil of the industrious. And, worst of all, this Capitalist class may, according to the new ground taken by the *Phalanx*, invest their savings (savings earned without labor) in the purchase and monopoly of what Fourierism admits (inconsistently as we see it) to be the Equal Right of all, the Land; and not only the land that is already monopolized, but that which is yet in a state of nature! Thus a Capitalist, if his capital consist in land, may invest it in Association stock, say at $50 an acre, and supposing the Association to be successful, he may with his profits (without labor) buy, annually, as many

acres of our Public Land as he originally held, as long as his useful life lasts; which Public Land he or his heirs may again dispose of to future Associations, and so on, ad infinitum.[30]

. . . In claiming the right of every man to a portion of the earth, the *Phalanx* has misunderstood us to contend that every man should have his separate portion. This is not our position. We contend that, as in the Savage state, as it is termed, a man might live by himself or with the horde, so, in the civilized or agricultural state, a man should be at liberty to occupy his separate portion, or unite with others enjoying their land in common; but that, under no circumstances, should a man be deprived of his right to use the land either in one way or the other. . .

[September 7, 1844] "Man possesses the right to the use of the soil, or, as it is expressed by our school, the right to the Usufruct of the Earth, and he cannot be deprived of this right on which his subsistence depends," says the *Phalanx*; and it escaped our notice in our first article, that our friend had so clearly and fully asserted our doctrine. Jefferson, also, in some part of his writings, (not now at hand,) asserts the right in almost the same terms as the *Phalanx*. Then, if man cannot be deprived of his right to the use of the earth, why should the government yearly deprive thousands of this right by selling the earth to a few? This, says the *Phalanx*, "becomes a mere question of State policy." "This question we need not discuss." Indeed! It seems to us that even if our views were "fallacious," as to the equal right of man to the soil either in separate lots or in common, and admitting Fourierism to be true in all

[30] The Ohio Phalanx have leased 2,300 acres of land, for a thousand years, at $2,400 the first year, $2,700 the second, $3,000 the third, $3,300 the fourth, $3,600 the fifth, and $3, 968 for every year thereafter.

its parts, there is gross inconsistency in the perfect nonchalance with which the *Phalanx* talks of the traffic in the public lands as "a question merely of State policy." We should have expected such an assertion only from the most shallow brained party politicians, who never had any idea that men have any natural rights.

The *Phalanx* does not recognize the right of man to the use of a portion of the soil, because the natural right is to the common use of it. But when men chose to cultivate the earth instead of hunting and fishing for a subsistence, had they not a right, either to cultivate in common, or to divide it in such a way as to secure the equal right to all? We assert that they had this right, at any rate before Fourierism was discovered, whatever may be the case now.

The *Phalanx* is puzzled to know how the individual would know where to find his portion of land on the Agrarian plan. This has been often explained, and would occur to most minds without explanation. The government would lay out a Township or a State, and each individual, on coming of age, would take his choice of the vacant lots or farms, no one being allowed to take or hold more than one under any circumstances, but any number (wishing to join in Association) might take them in common. What difficulty would there be in this? And as to the necessity of any arrangement being perpetual, we cannot see it. As long as there is land enough in the United States for the whole population of the earth, and land enough on the globe for a thousand times its population, we should think it would be enough to agree upon an apportionment that would probably last for a thousand years, leaving the people at the end of that period to make a new arrangement, if necessary, in accordance with the principle of equal right which we propose to establish. . .

The "right to Travel," under the agrarian plan, would be much more open to the mass than now, but less so to the few. Or rather, the right would be equally open to all, as in the savage state, each one being dependent on his own exertions under equal advantages for the means; contrary to the present system, by which the few monopolize the means of the many. Nor can we see how this right would be restricted any more under the agrarian than under the Fourier plan. We would by no means restrict a man from changing his residence, or from travelling as much as he could. But it is not our purpose to advocate Agrarianism as antagonistic to Fourierism. We believe in the progress of man, and there is much that we like about Association, as described by Mr. Brisbane; but if we were full converts to the entire doctrine, we cannot see that we could be any less in favor of abolishing the unnatural traffic in the soil, especially by the government. To stop that traffic would establish a great principle, which we all agree upon, and which would enable men, without the risk of beggary, to test any scheme of Association. . .

We come, again, to a trifling objection. The *Phalanx* does not perceive how an agrarian apportionment of the public lands could benefit the laboring population to any great extent. "Thousands and tens of thousands are already in possession of more land than they can use, who are far from being in an enviable situation." And why? Perhaps from the very fact of their being in possession of "more than they can use," while their landless customers are driven into cities. "It is a notorious fact of the present day, and, apparently, a strange anomaly, that men grow poor on the best land," and yet men grow rich on the produce of the land who never cultivate it! How? by monopolizing the labor

of the landless, which they could not do on the agrarian plan, every man being a landholder. A mechanic pays a landlord $100, or one-third of his earnings, in a city, for the use of a piece of God's earth to live upon, which $100, on the agrarian plan, would be divided between the mechanic and the farmer, each living on his own premises. And not only this, but both the mechanic and the farmer are compelled to work twice or three times the number of hours for the bare means of existence that would be necessary if the Father of Monopolies was floored. . .

"But," says the *Phalanx*, "where do you get your plan?" "Is it the plan of Divine Wisdom," and so forth. We get our principle in natural justice, and our "plan," (which of course, is subject to any modification that does not violate the principle) we get by the exercise of the faculties with which Divine Wisdom has endowed us. Can Fourierism show us any better evidence of Divine authority? . . .

But the landless cannot avail themselves of the public lands, unless they are provided with "all that is necessary as an outfit," and this "it is very certain that neither the Government nor Capitalists will furnish," argues the *Phalanx*. Two assertions, both erroneous. What authority has the *Phalanx* to speak for "the Government"? How does it ascertain that the State Government would not decide to compensate the landless man, in part, for the deprivation of his right to land in the State, by assisting him to remove to the public land of the State or of the United States? How does it know that our City Government might not, as a matter of financial policy, (to say nothing of right,) decide that it was better to take part of the $300,000 a year now paid for the support of pauperism to remove the poor to the land? . . .

But, supposing (for a moment only) that the Government would not do anything in the matter; and, in fact, what the Government would do or might do after making the land free has never influenced our advocacy of the measure; suppose, then, that the poor must rely on their own resources to get on the land: is it nothing to have free access to a farm instead of paying a speculator five or ten dollars an acre for it, as must be done to get land near a market? Or if a man settles on government land, is it nothing, after he has commenced operations, to prevent speculators from buying around him and scattering the population so that they can neither have roads, schools, mills, nor markets? Is it nothing to have land on such a tenure (the only rightful one) that you cannot be deprived of it by "Capitalists"? Would these advantages not lessen the difficulty of the poor man's escape? Do not some get on the land now, even under all disadvantages, and could not more go, if the expense of a farm was $00 instead of $200 or $500? Would not wages rise as the surplus went off, and thus increase the facilities of others to go? Could not the various Trade Societies, when laborers were too numerous, expend their means to place the surplus on the land instead of supporting them in "strikes" and "turnouts"? And, lastly, would not all land held for speculation diminish in price if the public lands were free; till, finally, all men would see the folly and injustice of the traffic in land, and hit upon some plan for abolishing it?

The *Phalanx* is mistaken in saying that "the idea that the root of the evil is in a monopoly of the land comes from the Chartists of England," so far as the present movement is concerned. The subject was agitated here years before the Charter was thought of; but the Chartists, seeing, as clearly as we do, that the

land monopoly is the "root of the evil," re-echoed our cry "To the Land!" . . .

(4) Land, Labor, Capital, and Education.
Working Man's Advocate, Dec. 28, 1844.

The following extract of a letter from a gentleman (formerly a clergyman) who takes a leading part in one of the most promising Fourier Associations has been furnished me for publication.

. . . Our creed is a very plain one, and if every working man in America would adopt it as his practical rule, society would be regenerated. It runs thus. The right to labor is the first of all natural rights. If man has a natural right to labor, he has four other rights which that involves; namely, 1, the use of land to labor on; 2, utensils to labor with; 3, education, to enable him to labor wisely; and, 4, the enjoyment of the products of his own labor. If these are natural rights society is bound to guarantee them to every human being. The social organization which fails of this is false and corrupt.

The earth, moreover, is lent, in joint tenantry to the children of men. Its usufruct belongs to each successive generation. This principle carried out, would prevent a monopoly of the land for private benefit. No individual should claim exclusive proprietorship in it, and the use of it should be secured to organized bodies of men who will cultivate it to the best advantage. No man would rejoice more than myself to see these principles applied to the broad and beautiful domains of the West. Be assured, then, that you have my hearty sympathy in your movement for the promotion of human rights. I trust you will not rest short of the highest aim, namely, the complete abolition of the present distinctions of caste that prevail in our American democratic society. The laboring classes should consist of all human beings; and they, and they alone, are entitled to all the benefits which labor produces. Every man, woman, and child should be a laborer, a capitalist, and an educated, accomplished, free, and happy human being at once.

Although the above contains noble sentiments and most important truths, it requires, I think, a few words of comment. The statement of Natural Rights appears somewhat objectionable. "The right to labor" seems an indefinite expression, the intended meaning of which

is better expressed by "The right to land." If the right to land is possessed, the right to labor independently is secured. And it does not seem proper to include among Natural Rights, Utensils to labor with and Education. The quantity and quality of these might vary materially according to habit, fancy, and climate. One might want no utensils but his bow to labor with for his subsistence, and no education but the skilful use of that instrument. Others, in other climates, might desire steam engines and all other mechanical and scientific powers; and though it may be well and desirable that the use of these should be secured to all as well as the right to the soil, it is not proper to call them natural rights. Natural Rights are uniform, unchangeable, and unalienable. The right of soil, too, as well as all other natural rights, should not only be secured to "organized bodies of men," but to individuals, and not only to those who would "cultivate to the best advantage," but to all, whether they choose to cultivate it or not. The natural tendency of things under a guarantee of equal rights, would be improved cultivation and association, but government should simply secure rights, and leave the rest to the people.

(5) Freedom and Organization.
The *Harbinger*, Nov. 27, 1847, p. 28.

THE NATIONAL REFORMERS. The editor of that spirited and sincere journal, *Young America*, says that the difference between it and the *Harbinger* is, that the former thinks Labor must be free before it can be organized, and the latter thinks it must be organized before it can be free.

This is certainly a very broad difference, and if there be no misunderstanding of the terms used, a fundamental and irreparable difference. But we apprehend that *Young America* does not use the term free labor in pre-

cisely the sense that we do. If it means simply that labor must have a free access to the soil before it can attain a perfect organization, we agree with it heartily; but if it means that a true organization cannot be begun until the soil is entirely redeemed, then we hold it to be mistaken. Further than that, we think that if the whole Soil were made free to whoever would cultivate it tomorrow, it would be of little avail to the laboring classes until they had organized some mode for its harmonious cultivation. Does *Young America* suppose that a free soil could be settled, tilled, distributed, without recurrence to some general law of settlement, &c.? Certainy not: but what then would their law be but a principle of organization? It might be an imperfect organization, but still an organization.

We repeat, therefore, that labor cannot be free, under any circumstances, until it is organized. Nothing in the Universe can be free on any other condition. Organization, or the regular and harmonic distribution of parts, is indispensable to the free action of those parts. Without it all is chaos and confusion. Suppose every atom in the Universe were allowed to move just where it pleased, would there not be universal disorder, and how can there be real freedom where there is disorder? Could that be called a free state where there was a perfect absence of all government, or what freedom has an individual in a time of anarchy? Why scarcely so much as in the completest despotism!

The same is true in regard to Industry. The doctrines of the modern political economy do not lead to freedom of trade – though they boast of it – but to the anarchy and dependence of trade! Trade or commerce, in all its branches, is a state of constant and unsparing war. It is a perpetual battle between capitalist and laborer, laborer and laborer, and machinery and laborer. There

is scarcely more freedom in it than the drop of water has in a tempestuous sea. To be free, industry must cease to be competitive and incoherent, and become concurrent and united. What a body we should have if each member set up business on its own hook, without regard to the other members! Well, how is it with the body of Labor?

(6) Land Monopoly and Communities.
Young America, Feb. 28, 1846.

TO THE EDITOR OF *Young America*: . . I write from the Union Association, which, amidst the crash of similar institutions, in this part of the country, still holds its own, and is gradually assuming a position of unquestionable prosperity. Each institution was crippled in the start, a time, when, if ever, they needed the free use of their limbs, by being bound hand and foot to capitalists, and the consideration of their indebtedness was mainly the land. . . From tolerable opportunities of knowing, I do not hesitate to assert, that nearly every failure of Association in the United States has arisen from the pressure of Land Monopoly. It has needed the painful experience of the last few years to acquire that lesson. Two years ago, when your doctrine became known here through the medium of the *Working Man's Advocate*, a file of which was in possession of one of our members, it produced no sensation except, perhaps, of commiseration that your efforts should be wasted on so impracticable an undertaking, when the whole unbounded field of Association lay before you. It was not then perceived that the rock you were so benevolently striving to remove, would be that on which the struggling bark would founder. With perhaps one exception, we are now unitedly for the Free Soil Movement. We believe it to be an indispensable preliminary to the general establishment of

Associations, and a movement better calculated to secure their universal prevalence than efforts apparently more direct.

(b) OWEN'S COMMUNISM

(1) Evans's Criticism.

Working Man's Advocate, July 20, 1844.

. . . The letter [by Mr. Owen], on the formation of communities, appears calculated for the meridian of England, and attempt to harmonize the conflicting interests of the different classes of that unhappy country. According to our view, the attempt is futile. It has taken ages to produce the vast disparity of condition and acquirements among the people of England, and that disparity, we think, must be removed by an intermediate process, an eradication of the cause that has produced it, before the people can be brought to harmonize in community. The cause of that disparity of condition, it can be hardly necessary for us to say, is the Monopoly of the Soil; and it seems to us a pity that Mr. Owen's well-intentioned efforts have not been directed to the abolition of that Monopoly, rather than to the fruitless appeals to the wisdom and justice of those who have profited by it. Where, in all history, has any class of men been known, voluntarily, to part with power or property, however wrongfully possessed of it?

That some form of Association would be conducive to the happiness of man, we are not prepared to deny: a union of interests, and association to a considerable extent, have existed in many, if not all cases, where the soil has been recognized as the property of the whole people: but that any form of Association, either that of Fourier, or that proposed by Mr. Owen, can be adopted by the masses, without a restoration of the right to land,

we consider impracticable; because the rich will not voluntarily give up the land, and the poor cannot buy it. The friends of Association are nearly all poor; a few of them may get possession of the land; but if they succeed in establishing a community, by increasing products, they will cheapen labor, and thus render it more difficult for the remainder to get possession of the soil. It is the duty, therefore, as well as the interest, of every friend of Association, to make a restoration of the right to land the groundwork of their plan, which, without this, must, like any common partnership, be a combination to advance their own interests, without due regard to the general good.

It is an awful thing to contemplate, that, although all who are acquainted with, and favorable to the principles of Association, should be able to establish themselves in community, yet that the mass of the producing classes must continue in rapidly accumulating degradation and misery. . .

(2) Owen's Reply.

The New Moral World (London), Aug. 31, 1844.

. . . The objections to the policy of Mr. Owen, urged by our transatlantic contemporary, seem to us, however, to be based upon want of information as to the constitution of English society, and of the kind of public mind which has to be operated on by the Social Reformer; nor does the conclusion at which it arrives appear to be borne out by its own premises. It is true that it has taken ages to produce the disparity of condition which now exists among our population, and that an intermediate process may be requisite to the realization of a community of interests, but we do not think that a crusade against the "monopoly of the soil," is that "intermediate process." If Socialists find it sufficiently uphill

work to secure a hearing for their plans, when these not only make no attack upon the rights of the proprietors of land, but absolutely propose to make these lands more valuable by the introduction of improved modes of culture, and the more equitable distribution of the population over the surface of the country – their difficulties would, we think, be materially enhanced were they to adopt the "intermediate process" of the *Working Man's Advocate*. The fate of Spence, and of English Agrarianism sufficiently show what the issue of any such attempt would be. If we are not mistaken, the Act of Parliament expressly passed for the purpose of putting down the Spenceans, yet remains in full force on the Statute Book.

There is, perhaps, no sentiment so deeply, strongly, and generally implanted in the popular mind of this country, as respect for the "rights of property." The manifestation of the slightest disposition to trench upon these "rights," has ever been the signal for the most violent, unscrupulous, and determined efforts to put down the party evincing such a disposition; nor when the matter is considered carefully, is this to be wondered at? Private property constitutes, at present, the great bond of civilization – its security and protection, therefore, is one of the primary duties of government, and will continue to be so until a better cement for society has been found, and its superiority made so evident, that the national will shall declare in its favour. Anything short of this would only lead to a repetition of those struggles between the Haves and the Have-nots, which have distinguished the past history of mankind, and the termination of which is the great object of Robert Owen and the Rational Society.

Assuredly the descendants of the Norman conquer-

ors of England, or the more modern possessors of the soil, whose title deeds rest not upon feudal services, but the gold which they or their forefathers gave in exchange for their broad lands, are not likely to be reasoned into the giving up of their possessions and their accompanying privileges by any abstract argument or essay, however demonstrative or eloquent it may be. Of all the hopeless tasks that ever were undertaken, we should consider the task of persuading these parties into such relinquishment, the most forlorn. It would be, not an "intermediate," but an interminable process. Robert Owen and the Rationalists of England have embarked in no such Quixotic enterprise. They do not ask any class of society to abandon existing institutions or privileges, until they see better provided for them, and are led to adopt the latter from a conviction of their superiority for all the great purposes of life. . . The "intermediate process" of the Rational Society, in its working out of the problem – How to harmonize the interests of all classes, and re-construct society on unitary instead of divisional principles – is to do so by inflicting no injury on any class, and by doing what all classes are at present educated to consider justice. For this reason it is, that instead of preaching against the monopoly of the soil, it is content to purchase, or rent, the necessary land for the formation of the *nucleii* of a new Social organization, under the full belief that it is only necessary to exhibit, in practice, the advantages which that organization will confer on all parties, in order, not merely to neutralize opposition, but to create the strongest incentive to its general introduction.

This brings us to the second leading objection of our contemporary – namely, that the form of association, proposed by Mr. Owen, is impracticable for the masses,

without a restoration of their abstract right to land, and that a partial realization of it by a few of its advocates, will act injuriously upon the laborers in outer society.

We demur entirely to the proposition, because, in the first place, as already shown, the realization of Robert Owen's ideal, in an actual community, would immediately attract capital, skill, and industry to this new channel for their employment, and contribute to the spread of the popular opinion in its favour, which must precede its general adoption; and in the second, because every abstraction from the over-crowded labour market, to furnish industry for these self-supporting colonies, would relieve that market from the pressure arising from that redundancy of labour, as compared with the demand for it under existing arrangements for producing and distributing wealth, which constitutes the true cause of the constant deterioration of the industrial classes. No other outlet, from a steady, continuous descent, on the sliding scale, of low and lower wages, want, pauperism, or suicide, offers itself to them – at least in this country. It may be different in America. There the people have yet, millions upon millions of uncultivated, unowned, or only partially settled, but fertile acres to have recourse to; and for them the struggle against the monopoly of the soil, which constitutes the foundation of that system of error and inequality, force and fraud by which the world has heretofore been ruled, may be as justifiable, in practical policy, as it is clear in abstract argument. If the movement be conducted by men of clear heads, as well as of warm hearts; if it be kept clear of those vituperations against individuals and classes, which are the bane of all popular movements, and only repel from their support all who might be truly useful to them; it may, aided by the popular political constitution of the United

States, and their peculiar territorial circumstances become an efficient means for the regeneration of society in America. But for us, who have to effect that object in Britain, a different course is clearly marked out. We must be constructive, not destructive, and open the path to the full enjoyment of the rights of humanity, by an inviolable respect for the claims of classes and individuals. Nor is this merely politic—it is right. The individuals and classes, composing society, are the creatures of the social institutions amidst which they have come into existence. They neither formed their own organizations nor the institutions which, acting upon them, have combined to form their matured characters with all their consequent thoughts, feelings, and actions. In the endeavour to form a new and better state of society, this cardinal truth should be constantly kept in view. It would purify the mind from all narrow and selfish antagonism, and by embuing it with a catholic and fraternal feeling for all our fellow-beings, enable the reformer to achieve, through Love, lovely and loving results. . .

(c) COÖPERATION

Working Man's Advocate, Nov. 23, 1844.

I regret exceedingly to see that our Eastern editorial friends, particularly the Boston *Laborer*, are directing their energies to the establishment of Trade Associations. It is true, that a resolution in favor of such Associations passed at the Boston Convention unanimously, without discussion, and with a strong feeling of approbation. I was sorry to see this; but I did not oppose the resolution, first, because the time of the Convention was precious; secondly, because I had taken a somewhat active part on other questions; and thirdly, because I did not much expect that it would be allowed to take

the precedence of more important measures. The *Laborer*, however, for the last week or two, has made the subject of Associations its leading measure, and expresses the opinion, that "the actual carrying into effect some plan of Association is the only source from which we are to expect a remedy." . . Not only do I think that trade associations are not the only remedy for the oppressions of the working men, but I doubt whether they would be a remedy at all. They have been tried repeatedly, and almost universally failed, except when they have degenerated into mere partnerships. And why? Simply because associations of landless men can no more keep up the price of their labor than can individuals. They must put their labor in the market, when hunger pinches, and sell it for what it will bring. . . Making our public lands free would gradually but effectually remedy the evil, with or without association, and without serious inconvenience to the interests built upon the unrighteous usurpation of the soil on the first settlement of the country; and, as this measure cannot be effected without union, though easily with it, I beg again to call the attention of our eastern brethren to the Pledge of the National Reform Association, which is intended as a bond of union adequate to the object. . . I trust that no working man's paper will say that the plundered poor have no means of preventing a perpetuation of the system which robs them of two-thirds of their labor, except by the formation of trade associations, at least till the Agrarian proposition has been duly considered and rejected. . . Associations break up. Banks break up. All things break up that are the creation of human hands; but it is not often that the land breaks up: that, therefore, seems to be the surest dependence for all who expect to live on the produce of it. E.

(d) ABOLITION

(1) Wm. Lloyd Garrison.
The *Liberator* (Boston), March 19, 1847.

When we see a class of professed reformers, magnifying mole-hills into mountains, and reducing mountains to the size of mole-hills—straining at gnats, and swallowing camels—gravely affirming that small evils are the greatest of all evils and that unmitigated and all-devouring oppression is far more tolerable than toil-worn freedom—we are constrained either to impeach their intelligence or suspect their honesty; and, whether grossly ignorant, or perversely knavish, we can place no confidence in their principles or measures. Such a class exists in New York, and has for its organ a paper called *Young America.* In this paper, we observe a constant disposition to sneer at the anti-slavery enterprise, and to represent the condition of the white laboring classes generally, as far more deplorable than that of the southern slaves! For instance, in a late number, this language is held: "Those well-meaning but mistaken enthusiasts, who have so zealously striven in this country to substitute Wages for Chattel slavery, will be enlightened in spite of their prejudices, and made fully sensible of the short-comings of their plans." Again, "the Wages and Tenant system" is declared to be "so much more heinous than the Chattel system of the South, as almost to defy comparison!" Who can believe that the author of that stuff, if he is not stark, staring mad, sincerely credits what he utters? To say that it is worse for a man to be free, than to be a slave—worse to work for whom he pleases, when he pleases, and where he pleases, than to be compelled to toil under the lash of a slave-driver—worse to make his own contracts, and to receive the amount of wages he has stipulated

for, than to be seized and worked without any remuneration – worse to be regarded as a poor laboring man, than as a marketable commodity – worse to encounter the vicissitudes of a state of personal freedom, than to endure the horrors of chattel slavery – worse to stand equal with all others in the eye of the law, than to be doomed by law to all conceivable outrages, without the possibility of redress – worse to pay wages than to pay none; to make declarations like these is to insult the understanding of every sane man, and to destroy all confidence in the man who is not ashamed to be their author. As the publisher of *Young America* is himself an employer, does he mean to say that he is a villain, because he pays stipulated wages to those whom he employs? Is he worse than a southern man-stealer? And because there are those in his office, whom he employs on contract, does he mean to say that they are therefore in a condition more lamentable than that of the plundered slave population? Out upon such folly!

Young America raises a loud outcry against "land monopoly." This monopoly is undeniably wicked and disastrous: the sooner it is broken up, the better. But what hope, nay, what possibility is there, that, in a nation where it is reputable to steal men, the right of every man to a just portion of the soil will be conceded and enjoyed? It is absurd for that paper to say, "The shortest way to abolish slavery, of every form, is by preventing any one man from owning two men's portions of the earth." This equalization can never take place, so long as one man is allowed the power of owning two or five hundred men. The deliverance of the slave must necessarily precede the redemption of the land.

(2) Gerrit Smith.

Evans to Gerrit Smith. *Working Man's Advocate*, July 6, 1844.

Sir – I am informed that you are one of the largest

landholders of this State, and, at the same time, one of the warmest advocates of the abolition of Negro Slavery. I am told, further, that you are a very good and benevolent man, and that you carry your opposition to negro slavery so far as to hold out-door meetings, on Sundays, at which to promulgate your views.

You, of course, are not aware that there is an inconsistency in your conduct, or you could not be the honest man that you are represented to be. You will, therefore, be much surprised to be told, as I am constrained to tell you, that you are one of the largest Slaveholders in the United States. . . Man has a right on the earth, or he would not be found here. He has a right to exist. He cannot exist without the fruits of the earth: he has a right, therefore, to the fruits of the earth, spontaneous or cultivated. He must gather these fruits as Nature presents them to his hands, or he must assist Nature in their production, and then gather the product. In either case, the use of the earth is necessary to his existence, and, being necessary, it is his right. What is one man's right, is another man's right; therefore, to ascertain what another man's right is, you have only to ascertain what your own is. If you have a right to the use of land to live upon, every other man has the same right, and if any man is deprived of this right, he is deprived of his liberty, and consequently is a slave to those who possess the land. He must labor, not so much as he thinks necessary to his own existence and happiness, but as much as those who possess the land choose to say. He must go and come at their bidding. If they choose to live without labor at all, they can do so, and he must perform an extra share of labor to support them. If they choose to revel in luxury, he must help to furnish the means. If they choose to riot in vice, he must administer to their depraved appetite.

They have got the land, and can dictate the terms on which he shall be allowed a share of its products. They may pretend to allow him to go where he pleases; but he cannot go far without eating, and they can say on what terms he shall eat. They may even allow him a voice in making the laws; but if they prohibit him from making laws to interfere with their land tenures, is he not effectually their slave? Although he may change his master, do not the masters know that, as when a drop of water is displaced, the vacuum is immediately supplied.

Slavery, then, consists in being subject to the will of a master, or a master class, by a deprivation of natural rights.

Now, to come to the point. You, sir, it is said, possess large tracts of land; how many acres I am not informed; but one who has a high opinion of your integrity of character, tells me that he has travelled a half a day in a straight line over land that you claim as yours. I will suppose, for illustration, that you possess fifty thousand acres. . . I have no doubt, although you must begin to see my drift, that it will startle you to be told that you hold fifty thousand slaves, and hold them, too, in a worse state of ignorance, degradation, misery, and vice, than any fifty thousand you could pick out in a Southern State!

Is it necessary for me to explain? Fifty thousand persons might support themselves on fifty thousand acres of land. Fifty thousand persons received support (partial or entire) from the public in this city during the last year, by what is called public charity, but which should be called public partial retributive justice. Many of these fifty thousand persons have been brought into existence in this city, (which is property of a few gentlemen) just as a bird is brought into existence in a

cage, just as sheep are brought into existence in a fold, or cattle on a farm. The bird may by chance make its escape, but it will often return to its cage, not knowing how to seek its natural food. The sheep or cattle may break their enclosures; but they must return to closer confinement. So it is with the human beings whom the regulations of the landlord master-class have brought into existence on land which they claim as their property. They are the landlord's slaves, to all intents and purposes; and you sir, I am sorry to say it, are one of the greatest Slaveholders in this country! . . I do not ask you sir, to give up your fifty thousand acres of land, provided you have so much more than your necessities require, to fifty thousand destitute inhabitants of the cities, and to furnish, from the wealth you have acquired by the possession of this land, the means to remove them to it, to instruct them in the use of it, and to compensate them, as far as it would be possible now to compensate them, for the deprivations to which they have, up to this time, been subject, for want of their rightful inheritance; I do not ask you to do all this, not because it would not be right for you to do it, but because I know it would be asking too much of human nature. I might as well ask the Carolina Slaveholder to restore his slaves their right to the soil, and to compensate them, as far as possible, for their past deprivations. All I ask of you is, seeing, as I trust you now do, that white as well as black slavery is wrong, that you lend your aid to prevent the further extension of the evil; to prevent any further sale of the land that is now unappropriated as private property; that you take the mote out of your own eye, before you attempt to pluck that out of your neighbors.

You will perceive, I trust, by the time you have read thus far, that the great error has consisted in buying and

selling land, or allowing any individual to hold more than was necessary for his existence, and that the remedy for the evils caused by this error is, to cease trafficking in the soil. There are vast tracts of land yet unsold; and if all good men will unite to make these lands free to the landless, on a plan that will enable every man to become a landholder and continue so through life, things would gradually come right as respects white slavery.

I believe, sir, that I have said nothing that would lead you to infer, that I am in favor of any form of slavery; but lest you might have misunderstood me, I wish you distinctly to understand, that I am opposed to slavery in every form, the slavery of might and the slavery of want; the slavery of the lash and the slavery of poverty; the slavery of the mind and the slavery of the body. But I think it most proper to begin our abolition efforts with that form of slavery that is nearest home. Having accomplished this, we could with much more effect, it seems to me, turn our attention to that at a distance.

I was formerly, like yourself, sir, a very warm advocate of the abolition of slavery. This was before I saw that there was white slavery. Since I saw this, I have materially changed my views as to the means of abolishing negro slavery. I now see, clearly, I think, that to give the landless black the privilege of changing masters now possessed by the landless white, would hardly be a benefit to him in exchange for his surety of support in sickness and old age, although he is in a favorable climate. If the southern form of slavery existed at the north, I should say the black would be a great loser by such a change.

Gerrit Smith's reply. *Working Man's Advocate*, July 20, 1844.

. . . I believe that the General Government would do well to give fifty or a hundred acres of land to the actual occupant; and that this would be better than to charge even the very moderate price proposed by General Jackson. It is also my belief – one I have cherished for years – that the individual owners of large tracts of farming land should divide them into lots of, say, forty or fifty acres, and then give away the lots to such of their poor brethren as wish to reside on them. In many cases, however, these tracts have descended to their owners, charged with heavy debts: and in many cases, too, these debts have been greatly increased by liabilities for friends, and in other foolish and sinful ways. These debts must, of course, be paid, before the owners can have either a legal or moral right to give away the land.

I judge from your unfavorable opinions of me, that you will be apt to suppose, that, in what I have just said, I have intended to express but abstract principles; and that I have no idea of applying them to my "fifty thousand acres" of which you speak. In reply to such supposition, I will say, in the words of William Leggett, the abolitionist: "Convince me that a principle is right in the abstract, and I will reduce it to practice, if I can."

You were right in supposing that I would not "throw down your letter in anger." If I ever indulged myself in the brutality of anger, there is nothing in your letter to invite to such indulgence. But, there are some things in it to make me sorry. I am sorry that, knowing very little of my opinions, circumstances, and relations, you should rashly pronounce me a slaveholder: and I am unspeakably more sorry, that you should justify the enslavement of your colored brother. You will deny

that you justify it. Nevertheless, you do justify it, when you say that poverty is as bad as slavery – nay, is even identical with it. Were you, and your wife, and children, bought and sold and torn asunder, by Southern masters, and urged to your daily tasks by the Southern lash; and were I to answer the appeals in your behalf with the cold-hearted and truthless remark, that your condition is no worse than that of the Northern poor man, you would, most properly, accuse me of justifying your enslavement.

The enterprise, in which you are engaged, is perhaps, in all points, justifiable. I, nevertheless, apprehend, that in its present hands, it will prove a failure. This apprehension proceeds from the disposition to trample on law and shed blood, and on the want of regard for man – for simple manhood – betrayed in this No. of the *Working Man's Advocate*. . .

Evans's Rejoinder to Gerrit Smith. *Working Man's Advocate*, July 27, 1844.

. . . After saying that the owners of large tracts of land ought to divide them among their poorer brethren, you add, "In many cases, however, these tracts have descended to their owners, charged with heavy debts, greatly increased by liabilities for friends, and in other foolish and sinful ways. These debts must, of course, be paid, before the owners can have either a legal or moral right to give away the land."

This I admit; but, sir, there is a question behind this. A man may have no right to give away that which in fact is not his if it is mortgaged to another. The wrong was in the mortgaging. No man had ever a right to more land than was necessary for his subsistence, or an equivalent portion with every other man: consequently no man ever had a right to give or take a mortgage on land. But this has been done in ignorance of that prin-

ciple. The citizen, on coming of age, is told, on claiming his birthright of the land not necessary to the existence of others, "We, or our fathers, have contracted debts, for the payment of which we have pledged this land." Is that any answer to him? Certainly not. He replies, very properly, "The land was yours to use in your day and generation, and what you could not use belonged to others. It belongs alike to this and all future generations, equally, and you have the same right to transfer it all to one man as to any number of men less than the whole."

"Wrongs," said an eminent political writer, "cannot have a legal descent;" and, though the land may have been bartered and mortgaged for a thousand years, till a few are in possession of it as in England, whenever the people choose to reclaim their equal right to the soil, they have a perfect right to do so. The possessors of land may have no right to give what they have no rightful title to; but the people have a right to take what belongs to them.

But, while asserting their natural right to the soil of their birth, although appropriated as the private property of the few, the National Reform Association, seeing the difficulties that would arise from the conflict of conventional with natural rights; seeing, also, that the adjustment of this question would involve the right to property accumulated by means of a false title to the land; and seeing that a vast quantity of land yet remains unappropriated as private property, do not propose to interfere with the conventional rights of those who claim private property in the soil; but merely that no further false appropriation of the land shall take place, and that those who are born landless shall be allowed to use of the vacant land a portion sufficient for their maintenance. This is what we propose, and all

we propose; and can there be any thing more moderate or more reasonable? . . .

My object was to show you, that a man cannot be free, as he ought to be, while living on land claimed by other men, without the right to the use of land for his own subsistence. This seems quite clear to me, and yet I can easily imagine why it is not yet clear to you. You have, probably, always lived on land that you considered yours, without the fear of want. I have been very differently situated. You have not known what it was to be behind hand with your rent, notwithstanding your utmost exertions to meet the demand: I have. You have not known what it was to have the officers of the law seize upon your little stock of household goods, and threaten to sell them if the rent was not paid by a certain time: I have. You have not known what it was, under such circumstances, to be compelled to submit to the sacrifice, or, with almost equal repugnance to your feelings, borrow of your friend to satisfy the claim. You have not known what it was to want bread for your family after having been drained of your last cent by the landlord: I have. These things occurred many years ago, but the impressions they made are still vivid on my mind, and frequently recur when I see others similarly situated; and I beg you to bear in mind that thousands in the cities are continually tortured by the same agonizing system. This is an evil of the first magnitude, about which the black slave knows nothing; and this can afford you but a faint idea of the miseries of a city tenantry, which the black has never dreamed of. This, however, may lead you to understand why I have contended that the landless white is in a state of slavery quite as galling as that of the black. I know that families cannot be separated by force among

the whites, as they are among the blacks, and I say this is an abuse that ought to be speedily abated at the South; but does not the white poor man suffer even in this respect almost as much as the black? See how families are separated even under the present system; not, indeed, by brute force, but, with equal effect, by the lash of want.

I am decidedly of opinion, sir, that there is more real suffering among the landless whites of the north, than among the blacks of the south; and if the question was, whether the landholders of the United States should have control of labor for ever under the northern or the southern system of slavery, I would hold up my hands for the latter; but does it follow, that because I see greater slavery here than at the south, and would first abolish slavery here, that, therefore, I justify negro slavery? I think not. . .

We have made "the experiment" of speaking out against slavery. We believe the black has as good a right to be free as the white; that "all men are created equal"; and I have frequently asserted this right, in print, years ago. I believe that all men have equal natural and political rights; and I harbor no prejudice against color; still, there is a prejudice against color, which it would take ages to remove; and for their sakes, and not from any prejudice of my own, did I suggest, that, if the public lands were made free, a portion should be set apart for their voluntary settlement. Although I know thousands of whites who contend that the blacks have equal political rights, I have yet to be acquainted with one who would like to be placed on terms of social equality with them. There is a general repugnance against this, which arises from the ignorance engendered by the long continued oppression of

the colored race; and this repugnance can only be overcome, if it can be overcome at all, by the improvement that would follow their political emancipation. . .

I think you err in wishing to transfer the black from the one form of slavery to the other and worse one. What particular means you propose to abolish slavery, I am not informed of; but suppose that you had the power, tomorrow, to place the black laborers of the south in the same position as the white laborers of the north; as "cash produces more labor than the lash," is it not probable that the slaveholders would get as much labor performed by two-thirds or three-fourths of the number of their laborers as they now do by the whole? If we may judge from the effects of the cash or wages system here, (which, for instance, compels a poor seamstress to make three pair of light pantaloons a day for twenty-four cents, and this is in a city where rent is a dollar a week!) such would inevitably be the result at the south. Then what would become of the surplus? Is it not probable that some of it would find its way to the North, where there is already so great a surplus that the working men are frequently striking against a reduction of their wages? The condition of the labouring classes everywhere would be made worse by such a change; the few would, still easier than at present, amass wealth out of the proceeds of their toil, and the wealth thus amassed would be expended in a still further monopoly of the soil. . .

Evans to Gerrit Smith. *Working Man's Advocate*, Aug. 17, 1844.

. . . The main difference between us now is, if I understand you, not about the objects to be obtained; but about the order and means of attaining them. There is yet another difference, however. You do not yet see that there is white slavery: you call it poverty. I

must still, until further enlightened, maintain that the landless poor man is a slave; if not quite so degraded a slave as the black, still so near it that the difference is hardly worth talking about. The one is a slave to a single master; the other to a master-class. The one has not the power of changing his taskmaster, but he is assured a support in sickness and old age; the other may change his taskmaster, but has no security for sickness and old age. The one labors under the fear of the whip; the other under the fear of want. The one may labor, for aught that we know, from sunrise to sunset; the other is frequently obliged to do more than that. The one is sometimes forcibly separated from his family, and his family from one another; the other is frequently, by force of poverty, compelled to submit to the same deprivations. I am not drawing this parallel to extenuate black slavery; far from it. I probably consider it as heinous as you do. My object is to show you that there are white slaves as well as black ones, and if I do not convince you, it will be for the want of the powers of language. I do not assert that poverty makes a man a slave; for a man might be poor, and yet be independent, if he had his land to work upon, from which he could not be ejected. The man who has no land and therefore must work for others, is the slave, whether he has one master or the choice of many. . . I wish, sir, that you could see the true position of the free blacks in New York; the servants in cellars, for instance, whose highest ambition it is to imitate the follies and foibles of their masters and mistresses; then again, those who reside in the back streets and alleys, living, no one can tell how, in dirt, depravity, and ignorance; seeing, perhaps, that something is wrong in the system to which they are attached, but knowing of no better remedy than to help themselves to what they

conveniently can of the wealth they see around them. If you could see these poor wretches in their dirty, crowded, comfortless dwellings, you would involuntarily exclaim that they would be better off even on a southern plantation. But they ought to be on their own plantation.[31] . .

[31] See *Life of Gerrit Smith*, by O. B. Frothingham, 102-112, for the account of Smith's gift of land to landless men. Evans was a member of the committee appointed by Smith to select the donees. – Ed.

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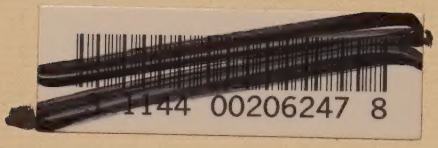
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